

FINE ARTS DEPT.



THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY
PUBLISHED BY THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1955
VOLUME XXXVI
NUMBER THREE

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 1954

VOLUME XXXVI

NUMBER THREE

CONTRIBUTING INSTITUTIONS

AMHERST COLLEGE • BOSTON UNIVERSITY • BRYN MAWR COLLEGE • COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY •
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA, ART DEPARTMENT, PRIVATE FUND • HARVARD UNIVERSITY •
INDIANA UNIVERSITY • THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY • NEW YORK UNIVERSITY •
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY • OBERLIN COLLEGE • SMITH COLLEGE • UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO •
UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE • UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN • VASSAR COLLEGE • WELLESLEY
COLLEGE • WILLIAMS COLLEGE • YALE UNIVERSITY

FULLER E. CALLAWAY • CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK • CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF
ART • DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION • THE FRICK COLLECTION •
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART • THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY • NATIONAL
GALLERY OF ART • SAMUEL H. KRESS FOUNDATION • WALKER ART CENTER • WILLIAM
ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY • THE WYOMISSING FOUNDATION, INC.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief: J. CARSON WEBSTER, *Department of Art, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.*

Managing Editor: HARRIET ANDERSON, *Princeton University Press*

Editor for Book Reviews: H. W. JANSON, *Department of Fine Arts, Washington Square College, New York University*

LUDWIG BACHHOFFER
University of Chicago

ALFRED H. BARR, JR.
Museum of Modern Art

KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Harvard University

SUMNER MC K. CROSBY
Yale University

DELPHINE FITZ DARBY
College Park, Maryland

SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN
Dumbarton Oaks

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN
Freer Gallery of Art

WALTER FRIEDLAENDER
New York University

ALBERT M. FRIEND, JR.
Princeton University

LLOYD GOODRICH
Whitney Museum of American Art

JULIUS S. HELD
Barnard College

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK
Smith College

G. HAYDN HUNTLEY
Northwestern University

RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY
Smith College

FISKE KIMBALL
Philadelphia Museum of Art

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER
New York University

GEORGE KUBLER
Yale University

CHARLES L. KUHN
Harvard University

RENSSELAER W. LEE
New York University

KARL LEHMANN
New York University

MILLARD MEISS
Harvard University

ULRICH MIDDELDORF
University of Chicago

DOROTHY MINER
Walters Art Gallery

AGNES MONGAN
Harvard University

HUGH MORRISON
Dartmouth College

DAVID M. ROBINSON
University of Mississippi

ROBERT C. SMITH, JR.
University of Pennsylvania

WOLFGANG STECHOW
Oberlin College

HANNS SWARZENSKI
Boston Museum of Fine Arts

Subscriptions for THE ART BULLETIN should be sent to the College Art Association of America at 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. The price of THE ART BULLETIN is three dollars a number, ten dollars a year.

Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of THE ART BULLETIN, Department of Art, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; books for review should be addressed to the Editor for Book Reviews, College Art Association, 625 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Princeton, New Jersey, November 3, 1948.

THE ART BULLETIN

SEPTEMBER 1954

Remarks on the Character of Islamic Art MEHMET AGA-OGU 175

Botticelli as a Colorist N. ALLEN PATTILLO, JR. 203

NOTES

Addendum Ovologicum MILLARD MEISS 221

The Church Program of Michelangelo's Medici Church E. TIETZE-CONRAT 222

Drawings Attributed to Correggio at the Metropolitan
Museum of Art CHARLOTTE HEATON-SESSIONS 224

Vasari's *Deposition* in Arezzo BERNICE F. DAVIDSON 228

BOOK REVIEWS

Florance Waterbury, *Bird-Deities in China* J. LE ROY DAVIDSON 233

Mabel M. Gabriel, *Masters of Campanian Painting* OTTO J. BRENDAL 235

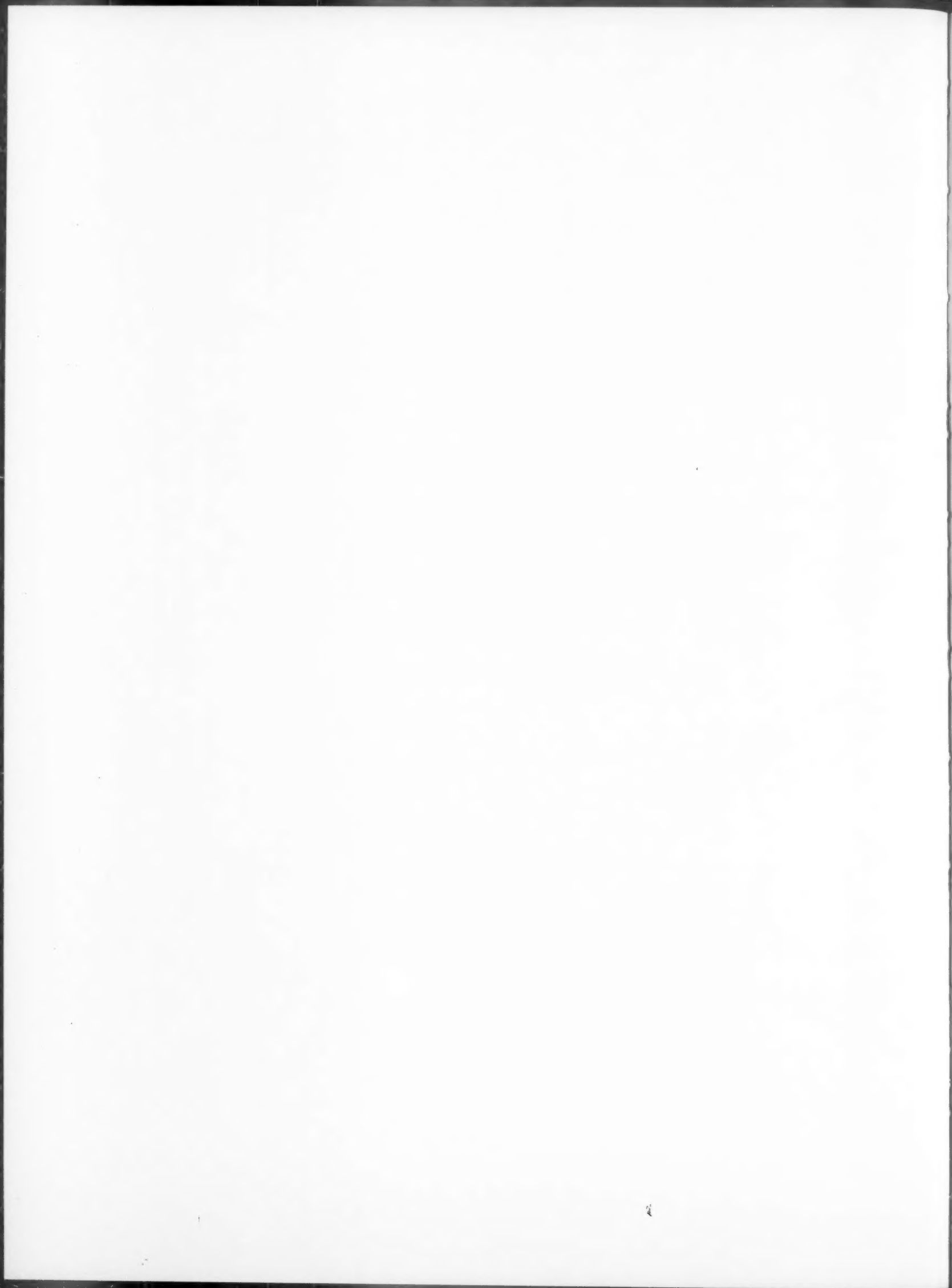
Emma Medding-Alp, *Rheinische Goldschmiedekunst in
Ottonischer Zeit* B. PHILLIP LOZINSKI 238

Leo C. Collins, *Hercules Seghers* WOLFGANG STECHOW 240

Norbert Lieb, *Barockkirchen zwischen Donau und Alpen* S. LANE FAISON, JR. 244

A. P. Oppé, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens* CHARLES E. BUCKLEY 246

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED 249



REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF ISLAMIC ART*

MEHMET AGA-OGU

At the Princeton University Bicentennial Conference on Near Eastern Culture and Society in 1947, the present writer attempted to emphasize the fact that the compartmentalism from which our studies suffer is a barrier to a profound understanding of Islamic art. Being one of the youngest disciplines of art historical research, Islamic art presents many problems in connection with its religious, social, economic, and aesthetic foundations which so far have not been satisfactorily explained; its historical development and its relation to preceding and contemporary artistic cultures have been recognized but not clearly defined, and, above all, the man—whose spiritual and mental properties are the primary concern of our endeavors—still remains, at least to us historians of Islamic art, an obscure entity.

Moreover, the contributions of the principal Islamic peoples—the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks—have been, in accordance with tendencies of individual students, either unduly exaggerated or sadly minimized. But one of the most negative aspects of our studies is that the immense body of literary sources, with very few exceptions, has not been fully utilized. A few *suras* and *hadiths* and some fragmentary passages transmitted to us by the incidental generosity of students of Islamic religion, philosophy, philology, or history are the few documents which form a basis for our deductive opinions. Such opinions are bound to be ill-founded and misleading in many instances.

Islamic civilization is an integral part of the mediaeval oriental world. Without knowledge of that world in its entirety, it is impossible to comprehend manifold factors operative in the formation of Islamic art, as it is impossible to understand Islam as a religious and social institution without a knowledge of preceding religious systems. Survival of ancient oriental civilization, Iran with its Zoroastrian past, the Hellenistic legacy, Judaic and Christian ideals, Indian-Buddhistic contributions, Central Asian elements, and Far Eastern modes must be taken into consideration if the true character of Islamic art is sought.

Islamic art, unlike the art of China, is a composite art. It is a manifestation of a civilization and not of a culture. Although bound together by a single faith, the countries and the peoples of Islam do not constitute a single culture, but, as Max Horten pertinently observed, "eine Zivilisationswelt, die in vielen äusseren Zügen übereinstimmt, aber in der Tiefe eine bunte Vielheit von 'Seelen' birgt."¹ This multiplicity of the character of Islamic civilization was already recognized in the second half of the ninth century by the leading thinkers of the eclectic philosophical society, Ikhwān al-Ṣafā': "The ideal and morally perfect man should be of East Persian derivation, Arabic in faith, of 'Irāq education, a Hebrew in astuteness, a disciple of Christ in conduct, as pious as a Syrian monk, a Greek in the individual sciences, an Indian in the interpretation of all mysteries, but lastly and especially, a Sufi in his whole spiritual life."² This also describes, more or less, the synthetic nature of what we call Islamic art.

* The text of this article was completed by the late Mehmet Aga-Oglu early in 1949, shortly before his death. The notes were substantially finished by the author, and, at the request of Mrs. Aga-Oglu, have been completed by Maurice S. Dimand and Florence Day, both of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, such additions being set in brackets. The manuscript is printed here in slightly shortened form, by the omission of certain sections of the original manuscript, the

points at which these omissions occur being indicated in the notes. The carbon copy of the original is deposited in the Near Eastern Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, where it may be consulted.—EDITOR.

1. *Die Philosophie des Islam*, Munich, 1924, p. 322.

2. *Rasā' il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, Bombay, 1887. The translation is by T. J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London, 1933, p. 95.

During the last few decades there have been published a number of special treatises dealing with basic characteristics of Islamic art. Of these, the most provocative came from the pen of Louis Massignon.³ The central theme of the eminent French savant is, in his own words: "Les conceptions musulmanes de l'art dérivent des postulats fondamentaux de la métaphysique musulmane. . . . L'art musulman dérive d'une théorie de l'univers; c'est la théorie de la représentation du monde que tous les philosophes musulmans orthodoxes non influencés par la Grèce ont soutenue mordicus, la théorie dogmatique de la théologie musulmane. Cette théorie est que, dans le monde, il n'y a pas de formes en soi, il n'y a pas de figures en soi, Dieu seul est permanent. . . . Il n'y a pas durée dans la théologie musulmane, il n'y a que des instants et ces instants n'ont même pas un ordre de succession nécessaire. . . . Pour eux, il n'y a que de suites d'instant, et ces suites d'instant sont discontinues et réversibles s'il plaît à Dieu." The consequence of this basic notion is, in Massignon's words: "La nature, pour eux, n'existe pas, mais est simplement une série arbitraire d'accidents et d'atomes qui n'ont pas de durée, de même, en art. . . ." Opposed to the Greek concept of the cosmos—the harmony of things—the Islamic theology postulates: "Dieu est le seul permanent. Les choses passent. Toute chose est périssable, sauf Son visage, comme ils disent, et la preuve de Dieu, c'est le changement de ce qui n'est pas Lui." Thus, Massignon draws an all-embracing conclusion that Islamic art in its various manifestations exhibits this deep-rooted sense of impermanency and unreality and that is why in architecture, for example, according to him, such impermanent materials as plaster and stucco were used and why flowers occur in the design of rugs as if they were petrified and the identity of animals is masked. "On leur a coupé la tête (ou la patte) et on l'a remplacée par une autre. Ils n'ont donc pas de vie réelle."

Among subsequent writers on the subject, Massignon's thesis was considered in a general fashion by C. J. Lamm⁴ and E. Kühnel,⁵ but found its most ready acceptance by R. Ettinghausen.⁶ The intention of the last named, in his treatise on the character of Islamic art, is not to deal with stemmas showing the sequences and interrelations of styles, forms and single motifs, but to answer "the question of the 'what' and 'how' [which] are dealt with in a general fashion" and to "endeavor to reply to the question of the 'why,' though the answer must necessarily remain inconclusive and subjective" (p. 251). With these programmatic objectives, he first sketches "the social, economic, and religious conditions in Arabia at the time of the Prophet," for the purpose of determining "the artistic heritage handed down" to him. This heritage the author finds to be very poor, because the great majority of Arabs were nomads and only a few "lived as traders in cities, where . . . the prerequisites of a more abundant life were not much beyond the scope of the hunter and shepherd in the desert." Devoid of arts and crafts, this primitive nomadic Arab society possessed "coarse, unbreakable simple objects" and "all the finer material things . . . were foreign importations." To demonstrate this, the author points to the non-Arabic origin of the words for tailor, carpenter, book, window, silk, and so on. Moreover, in the author's opinion, "the objects used in daily life never achieve a higher physical form on account of their ignoble origin."⁷ These objects were not made by men but by women, slaves, and foreigners, and as a result of this very condition, "the social standing of the arts was . . . much lowered" (p. 252). As in the social struc-

3. "Les méthodes de réalisation artistique des peuples de l'Islam," *Syria*, II, 1921, pp. 47-53, 149-160 (these quotations, pp. 50-53).

4. "The Spirit of Moslem Art," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I University, Cairo*, III, part 1, May 1935, pp. 1-7 (reprint).

5. "Islamische Kunst," *Der Orient und Wir (Sechs Vorträge des deutschen Orient-Vereins)* Berlin-Leipzig, 1935, pp. 50-67. See also his "Nordische und islamische Kunst," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, I, 1935, pp. 203-217.

6. "The Character of Islamic Art," in *The Arab Heritage*, ed. N. A. Faris, Princeton, 1944, pp. 251-267.

7. This may be true of some objects used in daily life by the nomadic Arab society, but it would be a denial of the artistic development of things if generalized. The inlaid bronze bottle formerly in the Eumorfopoulos Collection and now in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., derives its form from a very ignoble origin. So do a great many objects of artistic merit.

ture, so also in the religion of the nomadic Arab society, the author does not find anything which could have contributed "possibilities for artistic activities."

I. THE JĀHILĪYA

To the views expressed in these writings I should like to enter some disagreements, beginning with some comments on the Jāhiliya period. In Ettinghausen's sketch of social and religious conditions of the pre-Islamic Arabs there are two statements which stand out and should be commented upon before discussing "the artistic heritage" handed down to the Prophet. The first of these is that "the Arab's lack of understanding for figural art shows itself vividly in casual allusions in the old poetry, as, for instance, when the poet 'Amr in his contribution to the Mu'allaqāt compares the legs of a beautiful woman to marble columns, or her breasts to ivory boxes." The second is that when the Ka'ba burned down in the year 605, "the Meccans called in a Greek carpenter who was then on board a ship passing through Juddah, [and that] this foreigner rebuilt the shrine with the assistance of a Coptic craftsman" (p. 252).

The first is an unqualified choice, and in no way can be considered as an expression of the Arab's view on figural art. For more than half a century it has been recognized that the comparison of a woman's legs to columns and her breasts to ivory boxes by 'Amr ibn Kulthūm⁸ is a free paraphrasing of the Song of Solomon 5:18: "His belly is as bright ivory overlaid with sapphires; his legs are pillars of marble, set upon sockets of fine gold." As G. Jacob suggested, the poet possibly was acquainted with this Biblical passage through the intermediary of Arabic-speaking Jews.⁹ It is also very likely that the poet might have heard the Song at Hīra, when he was patronized by the Christian king, 'Amr ibn Hind. Whichever the case might have been, this particular poetic expression does not affect the true nomadic concept of figural art which was, of course, non-existent. One may, indeed, find in pre-Islamic Arab poetry passages in which the legs of a woman, as for example, are compared to the trunk of a palm tree.¹⁰ The well-known poet al-A'shā (d. ca. 629) in one of his poems visualizes a beloved maiden as "an egg in the sand," and in another compares her to a "statue set in a gold ornamented niche."¹¹ Now, it is our task to interpret which of these two is a genuine expression of the Arab's conception of womanly beauty. We know that al-A'shā traveled extensively, and it is to be assumed that he might have seen some kind of statue in an architectural setting of Sassanian or Byzantine workmanship during his sojourn whether at Hīra or elsewhere. The poet represents the school which stood under Sassanian influences; thus he, and his predecessor, 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, were familiar with a higher social order.¹²

In a treatise attributed to al-Jāhiz, there are a number of anecdotes which illustrate the Bedouins' appreciation of woman's beauty better than the paraphrased Song of Solomon. A Bedouin was asked if he had any understanding of a beautiful woman, to which he answered: "When her mouth is sweet; her cheeks are smooth; her breasts are luxuriant; her arms plump; her thighs full; her hips broad and her feet are firm, then she is the aim and desire of the heart."¹³

8. For the original text, see L. Abel, *Die sieben Mu'allaqāt*, Berlin, 1891, p. 21, verses 15 and 18. The best translation has been published by Th. Nöldeke, "Fünf Mu'allaqāt. I. Die Mu'allaqāt des 'Amr und des Hārith," *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Classe. VII. Abhandlung*, CXL, 1899, p. 25. Cf. also I. Lichtenstädter, "Das Nasīb der altarabischen Qasīde," *Islamica*, v, 1931, p. 47.

9. *Noten zum Verständnis der Mu'allaqāt*. (*Studien in arabischen Dichtern*. Heft 11), Berlin, 1894, p. 103, and later in his *Das Hohe Lied auf Grund arabischer und anderen Parallelen*, Berlin, 1907. Cf. also I. Lichtenstädter, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

10. I. Lichtenstädter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 47.

11. *Gedichte von Abu Baṣīr Maimūn ibn Qais al-'A'sā*, ed. R. Geyer (*E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*, N. S. vi), London,

1928, p. 104, verse 5; see also I. Lichtenstädter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 47.

12. G. E. von Grunebaum, "Growth and Structure of Arabic Poetry, A.D. 500-1000," in *The Arab Heritage*, p. 126.

13. *Kitāb al-Mahāsin wa'l-masāwī* (*Le livre des beautés et des antithèses*), ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden, 1898, p. 212; and the translation of this passage by O. Rescher, (*Pseudo-) Ḡāhiz*, 1, Constantinople, 1926, II, Stuttgart, 1922. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, Chicago, 1946, p. 263, pointedly observes that woman's beauty as idealized in Arabic poetry is in conformity with "the taste of Rubens' age." See also the observation of H. Lammens, "L'attitude de l'Islam primitif en face des arts figurés," *Journal Asiatique*, VI, 1915, p. 247.

The desert wanderers were, of course, devoid of any understanding of figural art, and their religion was likewise primitive in all its manifestations, but to assume that Muhammad inherited their mode of life is to distort the personality of the Prophet. We shall return to this point later.

The second statement, about the restoration of the Ka'ba by a Greek carpenter with the assistance of a Coptic craftsman, is a legend, variously recorded by early Arab authors, which found its way into some early writings on Islamic art.¹⁴ The earliest authority on the subject is al-Azraqī,¹⁵ who based his history of Mecca on the traditions narrated by his grandfather. Speaking about the destruction of the temple in the year 605, the author adds that at that time a ship was wrecked at Juddah and that a certain Meccan went to buy the wreckage. Among the crew, the author continues, was a Greek carpenter named Bāqūm, who offered his services to restore the Ka'ba. Ṭabarī records the shipwreck and mentions the Greek not as a carpenter, but as a merchant, without, however, giving his name, and attributes the restoration of the Ka'ba to a Coptic craftsman living in Mecca.¹⁶ Mas'ūdī is silent both about the Greek merchant and the Coptic craftsman;¹⁷ and Ya'qūbī, who wrote more than fifty years earlier, does not mention the incident at all.¹⁸

Moreover, according to some authorities quoted by ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī,¹⁹ Bāqūm has been identified as the architect of the Ka'ba, and by others as the carpenter who supposedly constructed a *minbar* for the Prophet. In still another early account, Bāqūm is mentioned as the captain of the wrecked ship.²⁰ The historical accounts presented show that there is among early authorities no unanimity about the Greek carpenter. Hence Caetani's opinion that the entire story of the reconstruction of the Ka'ba before the Hijra is nothing else than a legend, and Becker's observation that all the legends about the foreign constructors in Mecca are "absurd," must be accepted without reservation.²¹

Mecca was not a new foundation of Muhammad's time. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, under the name of Macoraba,²² and thus had at least five centuries of existence before the alleged reconstruction of the Ka'ba. Therefore, it is impossible that in such an old city, known in the jāhiliya period as one of the flourishing and wealthy commercial centers of the region, a native mason or carpenter could not be found to perform such a modest work.

II. ARTISTIC HERITAGE

We come now to the core of the problem. Is it correct to minimize the role of urban Arab society and to emphasize rather the Bedouins and their "artistic heritage," alleged to have been "handed down to the Prophet"?²³ The historical fact is that Muhammad was not the inheritor of the nomadic mode of life, but was a member of urban society. As Torrey has pointed out, "All the time, as far back as any of our sources reach, the city life is there [in Arabia] even when little

14. A. Gayet, *L'Art arabe*, Paris, 1893, pp. 17f.

15. *Kitāb Akhbār Makka* (*Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1858-1861, I, pp. 104, 20; 107, 10 and 114, 10. Cf. also the German summary in IV, pp. 84 and 88.

16. *Akhbār al-Rusūl wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, et al., Leyden, 1879-1901, I, p. 1135, 10. Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rīkh*, Cairo, 1883, II, p. 19, 19; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-1873, IV, p. 283, 10, and al-Nahrawālī, in *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*, III, p. 50, 12.

17. *Murūj al-Dhahab wa'l-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, *Les Prairies d'or*, text and translation by B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille, Paris, 1861-1877, IV, pp. 126f.

18. *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883, II, pp. 17f.

19. *Kitāb al-Isāba fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol. 20), ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta, 1856-1873, I, pp. 276f., no. 579. Cf. also Qasṭallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*,

Bulaq, 1886-1887, II, p. 180, 3f.

20. Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* (*Biographien Muhammads, seiner Gefährten und der späteren Träger des Islams*), ed. E. Mittwoch, Leyden, 1905, I, 1, p. 93, 13, and the German summary, p. xii.

21. L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Milan, 1905, I, pp. 174-178 (quoted by K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, *Umayyads*, Oxford, 1932, p. 1, n. 3); C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, I, Leipzig, 1924, p. 284. [Since the death of the author, an article has appeared to prove that this story is true; see K. A. C. Creswell, "The Ka'ba in A.D. 608," *Archaeologia*, 94, 1951, pp. 97-102.]

22. Ptolemy, *Geographia*, ed. C. F. A. Nobbe, Leipzig, 1843, 3 vols., Book VI, ch. 7. See also A. J. Wensinck, art. "Ka'ba," *Encyclopædia of Islam*, "Macoraba, i.e., mikrāb, temple."

23. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

or nothing is said about it"; and, "The products and symbols of high civilization, and in great number and variety, had for many centuries been familiar to the merchants and townspeople of the Hejāz."²⁴ Two of these cities, Mecca and Medina, where the Prophet grew and matured and where he laid the foundation of the new religion, were by no means, as has been assumed, cities where "the prerequisites of a more abundant life were not much beyond the scope of the hunter and shepherd in the desert."

Situated on the caravan routes connecting Yemen with Syria and Palestine and the Persian Gulf with the Red Sea, Mecca was, in the pre-Islamic period, not only the principal seat of Arab urban aristocracy, but also a meeting place of cosmopolitan commerce. This is not the place to go into a detailed discussion, but the relevant chapters of Lammens' important study of Mecca give a picture of social and economic conditions prevailing at the time under consideration.²⁵ Populated predominantly by the members of the Quraish tribe, the city enjoyed great prosperity at the beginning of the seventh century. The extensive commercial traffic and the concentration of banking enterprise in the hands of the Arab financiers were responsible for the material well-being of the city. In a city in which the volume of commerce comprised the goods of India, Iran, Ethiopia, Yemen, Syria, Palestine, Anatolia, and other Mediterranean countries, and which was the storehouse of precious metals—silver and gold mined in the surrounding regions—life most certainly could not have been primitive. Economic well-being manifests itself primarily in the enrichment of the material aspects of life. In general, merchants and bankers, be it in mediaeval times or in our own day, enjoy this condition to a greater degree than do members of other classes. This being so, one is entitled to believe that the Meccans, and particularly the Quraish—who, during the Prophet's time, had already been pursuing a sedentary mode of life for over one hundred years, and consequently were alienated from their nomadic past—possessed the main attributes of urban society. It may be that the Quraish were not active participants in arts and crafts, which were practiced chiefly by non-Arabs, and particularly by Jews, but this fact does not mean that they were not familiar with the material culture of an urban standard. I am, of course, aware that the Meccan standard of social life was in no way comparable to that of the inhabitants of Syrian or Palestinian cities. Nevertheless, it must have been in marked contrast to that of the nomads.

As Lammens has pointed out, "Toute sa vie le Prophète conservera l'empreinte de son éducation qoraisite." The fundamental feature of this education was the opposition to "les habitudes et les concepts de la vie nomade."²⁶ Another authority, Levi Della Vida, speaks in the same vein: "Muhammad was a sedentary; his spiritual horizon was entirely different from the Bedouins'. The influences and experiences which he had undergone were foreign to them."²⁷ Islam with all its doctrines is a city religion, an antithesis to the religious concepts of the desert wanderers and their pattern of life. Such a religion could be formulated only by a person who was the inheritor of the spiritual and material values of an urban society.

Muhammad's house in Medina, which "was used as a place of worship by the Moslem congregation throughout his life, and even in the decades after his death," has been cited to prove the dependence of the Prophet on "the material culture of his age."²⁸ This is in direct contradiction to the thesis that Muhammad was the recipient of "the artistic heritage" of the nomads. A house is the product of a sedentary mode of life, and an essential element of city foundation, and thus has nothing to do with a Bedouin heritage. The Prophet was indeed dependent on the material culture of his age, but this was an urban culture permeated with elements introduced through commercial channels from neighboring and distant lands. Lammens has demonstrated that council

24. Charles C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (*The Hilla Stich Stroock Lectures*), New York, 1933, pp. 29f.

25. H. Lammens, "La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, IX, fasc. 3,

1924.

26. *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 215.

27. "Pre-Islamic Arabia," in *The Arab Heritage*, p. 55.

28. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254.

houses, *majālis*, were widely popular during the early Umayyad period.²⁹ There can be no doubt that these *majālis* existed in al-Hejaz and elsewhere long before that period. Belonging to civic leaders or prominent representatives of clans, they were the gathering places for various groups of citizenry. When Muhammad established himself in Medina, his house, in accordance with the practice already prevailing, became at once the *majlis* of his fellow emigrants, *muhājirūn*, and his supporters, *anṣār*, and there is no reason to believe that Muhammad's house was in any way different from most of the city dwellings. Moreover, there must have been houses worthy of being called architecture in Mecca. Lammens is not justified, in my opinion, in saying, "Il n'existait pas d'architecture à la Mecque." Of the neighboring city he says, "Tel n'était pas la situation à Ṭā'if, où l'architecture avait réalisé de notable progrès. On y admirait de hautes demeures, massives à l'égal de forteresses, et à ce titre qualifiées de *hoṣn*, de *qaṣr*, de *oṭom*."³⁰ His opinion is based solely on the circumstance that the Arab poets make allusion to the city walls, mansions, etc., of al-Ṭā'if, but are silent about similar buildings in Mecca.

Situated only 75 miles southeast of Mecca, al-Ṭā'if was the summer resort of Meccan aristocracy.³¹ The relation of the two cities finds its best characterization in the Koran, XLIII, 30: "They say: 'Why was this *Qur'ān* not sent down upon a man of the two towns who was important?'" The expression *al-qaryatāin*—"two towns"—is a reference to Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, which, according to al-Badawī, were "great in rank and wealth."³² This being so, it is impossible to accept H. Lammens' view that one of these cities possessed respectable buildings while the other, and the principal one, consisted of primitive dwellings not worthy to be called architecture. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine Meccan aristocrats living during the summer months in mansions and the rest of the year in hovels. The frequently quoted saying of the Prophet: "The most unprofitable thing that eateth up the wealth of a believer is building,"³³ to the effect that Muhammad desired not to alter the primitive condition (see Creswell), is, in my opinion, a misinterpretation. As is the case with many of the Prophet's sayings, this one was also intended to discourage his followers from extravagant spending on buildings. The fact that the advice of the Prophet remained unheeded, finds its illustration in the following episode attributed to the caliph 'Umar. It is said that once the caliph, passing by the brick house of one of his governors, obliged him to refund the money that had enabled him to enjoy such luxury.³⁴ Of course, it is not my intention to suggest that the buildings in the cities of Hejaz were comparable to those of Syria, but it would be a mistake to believe that Mecca did not possess buildings worthy of being called architecture.

III. OPPOSITION TO LUXURY

It has been proposed that the fear of the Day of Judgment and the fact that Islam as a religion was always opposed to luxury, explain the lack of jeweled, gold, and silver vessels in the mosque, contrary to the practice of the Christian middle ages.³⁵ The allegation that "Muhammad was the sworn enemy of luxury" has been made to support the same proposition.³⁶ It is perfectly correct to emphasize the spirit of simplicity in Islam, but I cannot agree with the deduction that this is the reason for the absence of gold and silver vessels in connection with religious services. Christianity is likewise a religion adverse to luxury. Do not the Scriptures teach abstention from the acquisition

29. H. Lammens, "Ziād ibn Abihi," in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, IV, 1912, p. 240; reprinted in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut, 1930, pp. 112-113.

30. H. Lammens, "La cité Arabe de Ṭā'if à la veille de l'hégire," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, VIII, fasc. 4, 1922, p. 183. Cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

31. P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 102.

32. Al-Badawī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa'l-Asrār al-Ta'wīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1846-1848, II, p. 238, 7.

33. Recorded by Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, I, 2, p. 181, 7.

34. Ibn 'Abdī Rabbiḥī, *Al-Iqd al-Farīd*, Bulaq, 1293, III, p. 347.

35. R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

36. C. J. Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 2. [This allegation is contrary to the facts. Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome, 1912, especially pp. 61-78, gives a great deal of evidence for Muhammad's personal enjoyment of luxury, in his daily life; and, p. 72, remarks on "le prétendu ascétisme de l'Islam primitif."]

of wealth on account of its negative influence upon the purity and health of the soul?³⁷ The Christian doctrine considers only food, raiment, and shelter gained by labor as the necessities of life, and every other material mean has no ethical value, and should, therefore, be avoided. The opinions of the early Church Fathers concerning luxury are as significantly uncompromising as those of the *hadiths*.³⁸ Hence in this respect Islam does not stand alone. Christianity discouraged the accumulation of wealth in the possession of individuals and tried to build the Christian communities on principles of simplicity. Since the very beginning, however, it failed to restrict the Christian life within the bounds of humbleness. Already in the century of the declaration of Christianity as the state religion we hear voices of protest against the luxurious life of emperors and wealthy members of society. Synesius, one of the most remarkable personalities of his age, in a courageous speech delivered in the year 399 in Constantinople before the Emperor Arcadius accused the Christian rulers of being "covered with gems from barbarian mountain and sea, shod with them, girt with them, hung with them," and that "the common earth must be sprinkled with gold dust for their tread."³⁹ The same accusation could have been leveled at Moslem rulers and members of the urban aristocracy in Damascus, Baghdad, and elsewhere.

After the foregoing consideration, one may look for the true reason for the absence of vessels made of precious metals in the mosques, which is evidently not to be sought in the attitude toward luxury, common to both religions, but rather in the nature of the services conducted in their respective houses of worship. The Christian church in the course of its institutional development introduced a number of elaborate ceremonial services, each requiring the employment of various types of vessels. For the consecration of the wine a chalice is needed; a ciborium or pyxis is used to preserve the host; a paten to hold the host before the communion; a monstrance to expose the host to the eyes of the worshipers; a thurible to be carried during the processions. There are also portable altars, reliquaries, relic crosses, and the like. These objects were made, in accordance with the wealth of the communities, of diverse materials. No doubt ecclesiastic vessels belonging to churches like Hagia Sophia were of silver or gold, but the majority of churches possessed vessels made of ordinary materials. In mosques, however, there is no need for such ecclesiastic furnishings. No ceremonial services within or without the mosque, comparable to those of the Christians, are celebrated; and the ritual prayer, *ṣalāt*, maintained its simple form and procedure as it was established during the Prophet's time. Moreover, veneration of relics was in Islam a private concern of individuals and thus remained during the early centuries completely out of public and official religious practice. It was not an element in the system of the Islamic doctrine.⁴⁰ Therefore, there were also no reliquaries in mosques. But it should be underlined that the mosques of wealthy communities, or those connected with sacred sites, were richly and elaborately furnished with lamps, chandeliers, candlesticks, and various ornamental objects made of gold and silver not infrequently encrusted with precious stones. Unfortunately such objects are not preserved,⁴¹ but historical sources are generous in giving accounts of them. One need only glance into the works of al-Azraqī, Ibn Jubayr, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, ibn Baṭṭūṭa, or al-Samhūdī, among many others, to be convinced of this.

The religious center of Islam, the Ka'ba, possessed at one time or another a collection of valuable and rare objects donated by caliphs and kings. It will suffice to mention a few examples of such donations during the early centuries to demonstrate the point. The following is a list of the objects with their donors:⁴²

37. I Timothy 6: 7-11; also Proverbs 11: 4 and 24: 4-5; Psalms 73: 11-12 and Job 27: 19.

38. See A. Bigelmair, *Die Beteiligung der Christen am öffentlichen Leben in vorconstantinischer Zeit* (*Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München*), München, 1902, p. 243; and I. Seipel, *Die Wirtschaftsethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter* (*Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft*, 18), Vienna, 1907, pp. 196ff.

39. T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 326.

40. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889-1890, II, pp. 356-357.

41. See the interesting observation of C. Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka. I. Die Stadt und ihre Herren*, The Hague, 1888, p. 4.

42. The principal authorities for this list are al-Azraqī, *Kutāb Akhbār Makka* (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, 1),

Two large golden ornamental crescents encrusted with precious stones by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. These originally belonged to the treasury of the Sassanian kings and were sent to the caliph from Madā'in. In addition, he donated to the Ka'ba a golden pail (*gāw-dūshe*) and golden cups, all richly jeweled and of great value.

Two golden crescents encrusted with *yāqūt al-rummānī* [ruby, pomegranate-red]. These ornaments belonged to a church in Damascus and were sent by the Umayyad caliph Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya to the Ka'ba, together with two cups and flasks made of carnelian (*'aqīq*) and red glass (*adhrak*) respectively.⁴³

A pair of golden ornamental roundels and two glass bowls, by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. A throne called al-Zaynabī⁴⁴ and two ornamental crescents, by al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, on the latter of which he inscribed his name.⁴⁵

A piece of emerald valued at four thousand dinars, by Abu'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, the founder of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty.

A flask of *far'ūniyya* glass and a large silver tablet, by al-Manṣūr Abu Ja'far 'Abd-Allāh. The tablet was of Byzantine origin and presented to the caliph by Constantine V Copronymus (741-775).

A pair of necklaces (*qaṣabatayn*)⁴⁶ by Hārūn al-Rashīd.

A piece of ruby; the throne and the crown of Kābul-Shāh, who sent them to Ma'mūn during his conversion to Islam in the year 199/815. These were sent by al-Ma'mūn Abu-Ja'far 'Abd-Allāh to the Ka'ba.

A golden idol in the shape of a human figure seated on a silver throne and with a golden crown encrusted with precious stones, sent by a king of Tibet on the occasion of his conversion to Islam.

An ornamental roundel made of gold and encrusted with pearls, rubies, and emeralds by al-Mutawakkil.

A golden necklace (*ṭaūq*) encrusted with emeralds and rubies by al-Mu'tamid. It was sent to the caliph by a king of Sind on the occasion of his conversion to Islam.

In addition to these objects, a great number of pieces of ornamental jewelry, silver, and golden lamps and silver *mihrābs* were donated by various rulers, among them 'Abbāsīd caliphs, kings of Oman and of Yemen, the Il-Khān kings of Iran, Mamluk sultans of Egypt, and the sultans of the Ottoman Empire.

Since the early Umayyad period, the Ka'ba was frequently embellished with gold and silver platings. In the year 91 (709/10) and 95 (713/14), al-Walīd ordered the governor Khālīd ibn 'Abd-Allāh al-Qāṣrī to decorate the Ka'ba, and for this purpose sent him 36,000 dinars which were beaten into sheets and used in the plating of both doors, the columns of the inner chamber, and the gutters. Later, during the 'Abbāsīd period, similar embellishment with gold plating was undertaken by Al-Amin in the year 193 (808-09).⁴⁷ Toward the end of the eleventh century, there were still

pp. 156f. and 168f.; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 20, 20; and al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Jamāhir fī Ma'rifa al-Jawāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow, Hyderabad, 1936, p. 67, e; al-Nahrawālī, *al-I'lām bi A'lām Balad (Bait) Allāh al-harām (Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, III)*, pp. 60, 21ff. and Ibn Zuhaira, *Al-Jāmi' al-Laṭīf fī Faḍl Makka*, Cairo, 1922, pp. 111ff. See also M. Gauderoy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études, Tome 33)*, Paris, 1923, p. 56; and *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, I, no. 100, dated 199/815; Kābul Shāh.

43. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-jamāhir*, p. 67, 8, speaks of these flasks as having been made of *yāqūt* (i.e., ruby). Later (p. 227, 11) the author observes: "and I think that the flasks of *yāqūt* which we mentioned among the donations to the Ka'ba,

actually were made of *adhrak* (i.e., red glass)." [See the translation of this by Paul Kahle, "Bergkristall, Glas und Glasflüsse nach den Steinbuch von el-Bīrūnī," *Z.D.M.G.*, n/F., 15 (1936), p. 353: "Und ich glaube, dass die rubinartigen Flaschen (al-qarūrāt el-yāqūtiye), die wir unter den Geschenken der Ka'aba erwähnt haben, nur aus *adhrak* waren." Bīrūnī has defined *adhrak* as glass that is red, pomegranate-colored; Kahle, top of p. 353.]

44. Another variant is *al-Watīnī* (?). See al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 156. Ibn Zuhaira, *op. cit.*, p. 112, whose information goes back to al-Azraqī, calls it *al-sarīr al-rasī* (?).

45. *Répertoire*, I, no. 26.

46. In R. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, p. 353, the word *qusba* has been explained as "grain de collier oblong et cylindrique."

47. Al-Azraqī, *op. cit.*, p. 146, 15.

in the inner chamber of the Ka'ba six silver *mihrābs*, all artistically decorated with gold and niello.⁴⁸ With the exception of some lamps, among them two jeweled golden lamps presented by Sultan Suleymān in 984 (1576), not a single object of these donations and platings has survived. All gold and silver plates were taken down by the Sherif of Mecca, Abu'l -Futūh Ḥasan, and melted into dinars and dirhams which became known as *al-Ka'bīya*.⁴⁹

The tomb chamber of the Prophet at Medina was likewise sumptuously furnished with all sorts of precious objects, mostly chandeliers and lamps. Ibn Jubayr,⁵⁰ who visited Medina in the year 580 (1184) mentions twenty silver *qandīls* (lamps) suspended in the tomb chamber of the Prophet, and two of gold. Only a few years later, Ibn al-Najjār in his history of Medina (finished in 593/1197),⁵¹ states that from the ceiling of the mosque on the southern side of the tomb hung more than forty silver lamps of various sizes, some with ornamentation and the others plain. Two of these were of crystal and one of gold. Among these was also an ornamental silver crescent. All these were presented by rulers of various lands. Al-Samhūdī writes that all these lamps and many more were forcibly taken out of the sanctuary in the year 811 (1408/09) by Jammāz ibn Hibat al-Jammāzī and concealed in the ground and nothing was found after his death the following year. To compensate for the loss, al-Samhūdī continues, the mother of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj sent from Cairo a chandelier weighing 1,000 *mithqals*, her daughter another one, 1,500 *mithqals* in weight, and later four more arrived. Among these, one had four branches and the other, two, all weighing 3,720 *mithqals*.⁵²

The same authority reports that according to an inventory taken by the order of Sultan Qait Bay in the year 881 (1476) there were in the sanctuary eighteen golden lamps, among other golden objects, together weighing 7,635 *qasfa*. Among these, one lamp, a present of Shihāb al-Din Aḥmad, the Sultan of al-Kulburja, weighed 4,600 *qasfa*.⁵³ There were also 344 silver lamps and chandeliers, altogether 4,600 *qasfa* in weight; one crystal lamp in a silver box, four brass lamps and one made of steel inlaid with gold and with an inscription, in golden openwork, stating that it was hung in the sanctuary by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the son of Sultan Qalawūn.⁵⁴

A sketchy description of the shrine of Imām 'Alī at Ibn-Najaf left by Ibn Battūṭa (d. A.D. 1355) shows that during his visit it was sumptuously furnished with expensive silk rugs and hangings, golden and silver *qandīls* (lamps), golden and silver bowls containing rose water, musk, and various perfumes, and the sarcophagus was covered with massive ornamented gold plaques.⁵⁵

Nāṣir-i Khusrau, speaking of the Dome of the Rock, remarks: "In the middle of the sanctuary, over the Rock, hangs a silver *qandīl* with silver chain, and there are here many silver *qandīls*, the

48. Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Sefer-Nameh* (*Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes*, II^e série, 1) ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1881, text p. 73, 1 and trans. p. 201.

49. Maqrizī, *Khifāṭ*, Bulāq, 1270, II, p. 157, line 5 from the bottom. This is cited by H. Sauvage, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmane* (reprint, from *Journal Asiatique*), p. 214. Abu'l-Futūh Ḥasan was Sharif of Mecca for some time, ending in A.D. 1039; see Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 21. [See, however, A. J. Wensinck, article "Ka'ba," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (English edition), II, p. 585, "numerous gold and silver lamps" hanging within the Ka'ba, and a door with mountings of silver-gilt, and a gilt water-spout; and p. 587, for the tradition that 'Umar wanted to remove the gold and silver from the Ka'ba, but 'Alī insisted that it should remain.]

50. *Rihla*, ed. W. Wright, Leyden, 1852, p. 15. Cf. also Dwight D. Donaldson, "Ibn Jubayr's Visit to al-Madina," *JAOS*, I, 1930, pp. 26 and 34. [Correct the old translation by the latest one: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, translated from the original Arabic by R. J. C. Broadhurst, London, 1952, pp. 197 and 199, "about twenty silver lamps, and . . . two of gold."]

51. Quoted by al-Samhūdī, *Kitāb Wafā' al-Wafā'*, Cairo, 1908-1909, I, p. 417. Cf. also F. Wüstenfeld, "Geschichte der

Stadt Medina. Im Auszuge aus dem arabischen des Samhūdī," *Abhandlungen der historisch-philologischen Classe der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, IX, 1860, p. 83. [For further bibliography on Ibn al-Najjār and Samhūdī, see Jean Sauvage, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris, 1947, pp. 26-29.]

52. Samhūdī, *loc. cit.*

53. Kulbargā in Deccan (India), the capital of the Bahmanī dynasty. The donor is Aḥmad I, who ruled from 825/1422 to 835/1435. See V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1923, p. 277.

54. Al-Samhūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and Aly Bey Bahgat, "Histoire de la Houdjra de Médine ou salle funéraire du Prophète," *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, III, 1914, p. 83.

55. Ibn Battūṭa, *Travels*, the Arabic text with a French translation, by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1874-1879, four volumes; I, p. 416, 6. [For an English summary, G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 78, referring to I, pp. 414-416.] See also the passages about the shrine of Imām Ridā at Mashhad, Ibn Battūṭa, III, p. 78, 9, and a shrine at Samarqand, III, p. 52, 9. [And for Mashhad, in English, again, Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.]

weight of which is inscribed on each piece. These are made by (the order of) the Egyptian Sultan. As I counted, the weight amounted to 1,000 *man*.⁵⁶ The same traveler, mentioning a shrine near the city of Šūr (Tyre), states: "There are many *qandīls* and *chirāghdāns* (chandeliers)⁵⁷ of gold and silver."⁵⁸ Also of interest is his description of a *charāghdān* in the 'Amr Mosque in Cairo presented by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Hākīm. It was made of silver, in a 16-sided shape, each side measuring one and one-half *arsh* (cubit) and containing 700 glass cups for oil. The total weight of the chandelier amounted to 25 *qantārs*.⁵⁹

So much is enough to demonstrate that Islamic sanctuaries were not devoid of jeweled, gold, and silver objects.

It is further claimed that "such cheap materials as stucco" were used "to decorate even the *mihrāb*, the focal point of the mosque, when the wealth of the community could have provided the most costly material"; and this is attributed to the religious opposition to luxury.⁶⁰ First, a few words about the *mihrāb* as such.

As is well known, the *mihrāb* remained unknown during Muhammad's time and that of the orthodox caliphs. Its introduction into the architecture of the mosque first took place in the Umayyad period. The word, as N. Rhodokanakis⁶¹ demonstrated, was used by the pre-Islamic Arab poets in the meaning of "citadel, castle," as well as "top room, gallery, or balcony," and above all for "throne hall, audience hall," and "throne recess." *Mihrāb* occurs in the Koran several times not as a *terminus technicus* for the architectural part indicating the *qibla*, but in the meaning of "castle" and "woman's apartment."⁶² The *hadīths* do not discuss the *mihrāb* of the mosque when they deal with *masjid*. There is only one *hadīth* noted by al-Suyūṭī⁶³ which declares: "Honor these altars, that is, the *mihrābs*," and therefore he comments: "At the beginning of the second century a *ḥadīth* was issued forbidding the use of it (the *mihrāb*) as it was of the nature of churches. Its use in mosques is an indication of the approach of the day of Judgment." Considering the great authority of al-Suyūṭī, this negative attitude toward the *mihrāb* is worthy of serious consideration. Judging from a still earlier writing, the *mihrāb* was, as C. H. Becker pointed out, considered as "der unheiligste Theil der Moschee."⁶⁴ This theological opinion concerning the *mihrāb* was formulated by the well-known *faqīh*, Maḥammad ibn al-Hājj al-'Abdārī (d. 737/1337). He not only warned the Imām not to place himself within the *mihrāb*, but characterizes it as *akhaff min bāqī al-masjid*, i.e., "Less important than the rest of the mosque."⁶⁵ But such opinions, it should be noted, did not exercise any appreciable influence, and *mihrābs* were by no means devoid of sanctity (as distinguished from veneration). It should be emphasized that the *mishkāṭ* (wall-niche) mentioned in Sura xxiv, 35, has no relation to the *mihrāb* of the mosque.

Coming back to the main subject, I cannot agree that the reason for the employment of stucco in the *mihrāb* was the desire for "cheap material" dictated by moral considerations. To be sure, stucco is a cheap and soft material to work with, but it should be remembered that it had been one of the principal mediums of artistic expression in architecture since the pre-Islamic centuries in

56. Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 2, and translation, pp. 91-92.

57. Not candlesticks as in Max Herz Bey, *A Descriptive Catalog of the Objects Exhibited in the National Museum of Arab Art*, Cairo, 1907, p. 152.

58. Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *op. cit.*, 14, 17 and translation p. 47.

59. *ibid.*, p. 50, 22 and translation, p. 148; also Makrizī, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, Paris, 1837-42, II, p. 250. Cf. St. Lane-Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, London, 1888, p. 194. One *qantār* = 171,500 g.

60. R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

61. His review of "Mschatta" by J. Strzygowski, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XIX, 1905, pp. 297f., and again, "Zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft," *op. cit.*, XXV, 1911, pp. 71f. See also T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*

zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg, 1910, p. 52, n. 3, and J. Pedersen, "Masdjid" in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, III, p. 338.

62. Suras III, 32-33; XIX, 12 and XXXIV, 12. For the last definition, see R. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, p. 265.

63. Quoted by H. Lammens, "Ziād ibn Abīhi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia I," *Rivista degli studi Orientali*, IV, 1912, p. 246, note. Reprinted in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut, 1930, p. 117, n. 1, giving the Arabic text only. This and the following opinion are mentioned also by K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, p. 99.

64. C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924-1932 (2 vols.), I, p. 493.

65. *Kitāb al-Mudkhāl al-Shar' al-Sherif*, Cairo, 1902, II, p. 76. Also quoted by C. H. Becker, *loc. cit.*

Mesopotamia and in Iran, and continued to be so in the Near East throughout the Middle Ages.⁶⁶ A glance at the architectural remains in Kūh i Khwāja, Ctesiphon, Damghān, Shapur, and Kish⁶⁷—all of the pre-Islamic period—and in Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi, Hira, Samarra, Nishapur and Termez, from the early Islamic centuries⁶⁸ is sufficient to confirm the point. Stucco was employed in mosque architecture not primarily for *mihrābs* but in the interior wall decoration in general. The focal point of Christian churches, the apse, which is considered by many students to be the prototype of the *mihrāb*,⁶⁹ never was plated with precious metals, if it is intended to contrast such materials with stucco. If not, then it should be pointed out that a great number of mosques possessed *mihrābs* adorned with expensive materials and comparable to those of Christian apses. Here are a few examples: the *mihrāb* of the mosque built by the Umayyad caliph, Walīd I, at Ṣanʿāʾ, was covered with mosaics;⁷⁰ that of the Great Mosque in Cordoba is plated with marble and embellished with mosaics;⁷¹ the famous *mihrāb* of the Sidi Oqba Mosque in Qayrawān is of marble and lustered tiles, the latter having been brought from distant Baghdad;⁷² the *mihrāb* found in Jāmiʿ al-Khāsakī, but belonging to an earlier edifice, was carved from one piece of marble.⁷³ In Egypt, where wood had been very expensive and difficult to obtain since ancient times, *mihrābs* were frequently made of this material. These *mihrābs*, judging from the few examples preserved, were neither simple nor modest, but masterpieces of woodcarving, requiring considerable artistic effort and a long period of labor.⁷⁴ The lustered tile *mihrābs* of Iran⁷⁵ or the stone and faïence mosaic *mihrābs* of Seljuk mosques in Anatolia⁷⁶ are likewise neither "humble" nor "cheap."

IV. VESSELS OF GOLD AND SILVER

An oft-quoted *hadith* states: "He who drinks from gold and silver vessels drinks the fire of hell."⁷⁷ It is sometimes assumed that this would have prevented the use of such vessels at court

66. E. Herzfeld's opinion that the immense success of stucco in Iranian art is due, besides its cheapness, to "its lack of character, its yielding to every artistic frivolity," and that "real art cannot be created without resistance to be overcome," is an interesting observation, but has no relation to the subject under discussion here. See his *Archaeological History of Iran*, London, 1935, p. 74.

67. Kūh i Khwāja, E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, New York, 1941, pl. xcix, pp. 292-294, and fig. 387. Ctesiphon, Ernst Kühnel, *Die Ausgrabungen der zweiten Ktesiphon-Expedition, Winter 1931/32, vorläufiger Bericht*, Berlin, 1933; also J. Heinrich Schmidt, "Figurliche Sasanidische Stuckdecoration aus Ktesiphon," *Ars Islamica*, iv, 1937, pp. 175-184. Damghān, Erich F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghān*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. Shapur, R. Ghirshman, "Les Fouilles de Châpour (Iran) (Deuxième campagne 1936/37)," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, xii, no. 1, 1938, pp. 12-19, pls. xii-xiii; Georges Salles, "Nouveaux documents sur les fouilles de Châpour, IV^{me} et V^{me} campagnes," *R. A. A.*, xiii, No. 3-4, 1939-1942, pp. 93-100, pls. xviii-xix. Kish, S. H. Langdon and L. C. Watelin, *Excavations at Kish*, Paris, 1924-1935.

68. Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi, see Daniel Schlumberger, "Les fouilles de Qasr al-Hair el-Gharbi (1936-1938) Rapport préliminaire," *Syria*, xx, 1939, pp. 195-238 and 324-373, pls. xliv-xlvii. Hira, D. Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira," *Ars Islamica*, i, 1934, pp. 51-73. Samarra, E. Herzfeld, *Die Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1923. Nishapur, W. Hauser and C. K. Wilkinson, "The Museum's excavations at Nishapur," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, April 1942, pp. 83-119. Termez, H. Field and Eugene Prostov, "Archaeological investigations in Central Asia, 1917-37," *Ars Islamica*, v, 1938, pp. 253-254, figs. 14 and 15.

[69. For the origin of the *mihrāb*, see Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine, Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique*, Paris, 1947, pp.

145-149. Sauvaget concludes, p. 149, that the *mihrāb* is not derived from the Christian church apse, but, "Le mihrab n'est donc qu'une réplique réduite de l'abside palatine, et constitue un nouvel élément commun au palais et au mosquée." Sauvaget shows that in the early period of Islam the *mihrāb* was not "the focal point of the mosque" in a ritual sense, but was the *majlis* of the governor, and marked the place where the imam prayed.]

70. Henri Lammens, "L'attitude de l'Islam primitif en face des arts figurés," in *Études sur le siècle des Omeyyades*, Beirut, 1930, p. 376 and n. 4; these mosaics showed palaces and trees, which recalls the existing mosaics of Damascus.

71. Georges Marçais, *Manuel d'Art musulman. L'Architecture*, Paris, 1926, i, pp. 222-227 mosaics, and 255-258, marble and mosaics. The *mihrāb* fig. 146, and pp. 264-266.

72. Georges Marçais, *Les faïences à reflets métalliques de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, Paris, 1928. Also, Marçais, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 60-62.

73. F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1920, ii, pp. 139-145, figs. 185-187.

74. A good example is the *mihrāb* of Saiyida Ruqaya (between 549/1154 and 555/1160) in the Arab Art Museum in Cairo; see E. Pauty, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide (Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire)*, Cairo, 1931, pp. 67f., pls. lxxx-lxxxviii. See also *mihrāb* in the Makām Ibrāhīm al-Asfal in Aleppo, E. Herzfeld, "Damascus: Studies in Architecture—II," *Ars Islamica*, x, 1943, pp. 57f., fig. 81.

75. R. Ettinghausen, "The Ceramic Art in Islamic Times. B. Dated Faïence," in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope, London and New York, 1938-1939, ii, pp. 1667-1698, v, pls. 555-811.

76. Fr. Sarre, *Konia, Seldschukische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1921; A. Gabriel, "Dünäysir," *Ars Islamica*, iv, 1937, figs. 8, 14, and 15.

77. al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. L. Krehl,

or in the palaces of princes.⁷⁸ But despite the prohibition of the *hadith*, it is a mistake to believe that such vessels were not used by Moslems. Before presenting historical accounts showing how the *hadith* was generally ignored, let me bring a striking parallel from the Christian East. Clemens Alexandrianus, whose writings were most influential, was outspoken against the use of silver and gold vessels. In his *Paedagogus* we read: "And so the use of cups made of silver and gold and of others inlaid with precious stones, is out of place, being only a deception of the vision . . . for, on the whole, gold and silver, both publicly and privately, are an invidious possession . . . and silver couches, and pans and vinegar-saucers, and trenchers and bowls; and besides these, vessels of silver and gold some for serving food, and others for other uses which I am ashamed to name . . . and couches with silver feet and studded with gold and variegated with tortoise-shell . . . are all to be relinquished as having nothing whatever worth our pains."⁷⁹ But did such preachings influence the courts of the Christian states? The answer is in the negative, of course. That in the courts of Christian emperors and the houses of wealthy members of society, both of the East as well as of the West, gold and silver vessels were in extravagant use is a matter of common knowledge. Exactly the same condition prevailed, in spite of strong prohibitions, throughout the length and breadth of the Islamic world and in all periods, not only in the courts, but also in the households of urban society which could financially afford such a luxury. Historical accounts on the subject are too numerous to mention in full, and I shall confine the presentation to a few examples.

It is a well-known fact that the western part of the Arabian peninsula was considered during antiquity as a country of fabulous wealth in gold and silver. This was due to the existence of numerous mines of these metals in Yemen, Yamama, and Hejaz, some of which were still in a state of exploitation during and some time after the rise of Islam. H. Lammens has already demonstrated the importance of these mines in the commercial activities of Mecca about the year A.D. 600.⁸⁰ Gold and silver were traded not only in bullion but also in manufactured form, and probably partly of local manufacture, and also for local needs. With the foundation of a true Arab dynastic "kingdom" under the Umayyads the use of luxurious furnishings, the attribute of temporal authority, became a necessity. Thus in this respect, as in many other fields, the Umayyads imitated the established and refined customs of the Byzantines or Sassanians to the full extent. This is a historical fact which had already been recognized by the great Islamic sociologist, 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn. In his discourse on luxury he emphasized that it was the Persians who communicated the way of the luxurious life to the Umayyads and Abbāsids.⁸¹ Leaving aside late Hellenistic-Byzantine elements in the artistic and social realm of the Umayyad period, it will be sufficient for our purpose to call attention to such institutions as *maqsūra* in the mosque and the eunuchs in the palaces, both introduced from Byzantium.⁸² The Umayyad caliphs went so far even as to dress themselves for public

Leyden, 1862-1907, III, pp. 438 and 503; IV, pp. 38, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313, IV, p. 76, 3; VI, p. 228, 12; al-Ṭirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Bulaq, 1272, I, p. 344, 1. The Zāhirite school forbade eating from vessels made of gold or silver. See I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriden. Ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 43.

78. C. J. Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 2: "And even in the palaces of princes and other magnates, who did not hesitate to surround themselves with all the luxury that art could provide, gold receptacles were generally replaced by vessels in other material. . . ." R. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 255: "No beakers of precious metal could be used at the court of the Moslem state, which otherwise would have liked to imitate the customs of the Byzantines or Sassanians."

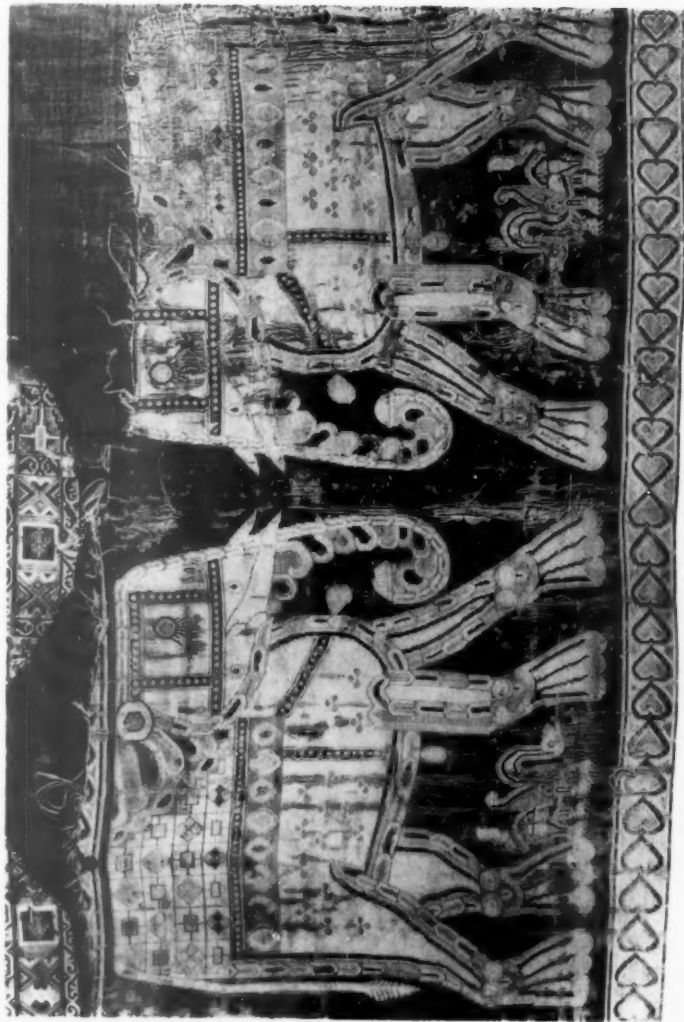
79. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Book II, Chap. III, Buffalo, 1885, II, pp. 246ff.

80. For records of commercial enterprises of around the time of the Prophet, see Al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. A. von Kremer [*Bibliotheca Indica*], Calcutta, 1856, p. 198, 16f. See also German translation by J. Wellhausen, Berlin,

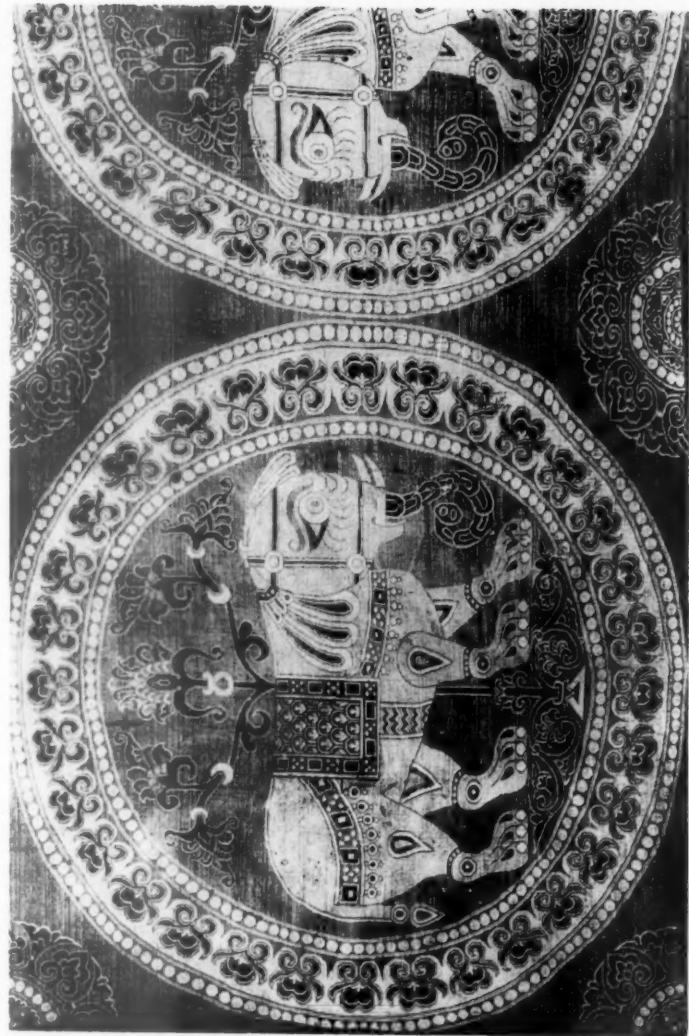
1882, p. 100, p. 196, 19; also Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, VI, p. 465; and also H. Lammens, "La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire" (see note 25 above), *passim*, and especially p. 320. [For the gold mines today, see Karl S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton, 1947, p. 146, Mahd Dhahab, and pp. 160-161. For a report on ancient vessels and trinkets of silver, gold, and copper, see p. 78.]

81. *Muqaddima*, ed. M. Quatremère, Paris, 1858, I, p. 312, 18. Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 202, 18, reports Abu Isrā'il, an ascetic of early Islam, as saying about 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn al-Aswad: "When I see that man, I think to have before me an Arab who has turned into a Persian landlord. He is dressed like them, perfumed like them, and rides like them." See also I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1925, pp. 146ff.

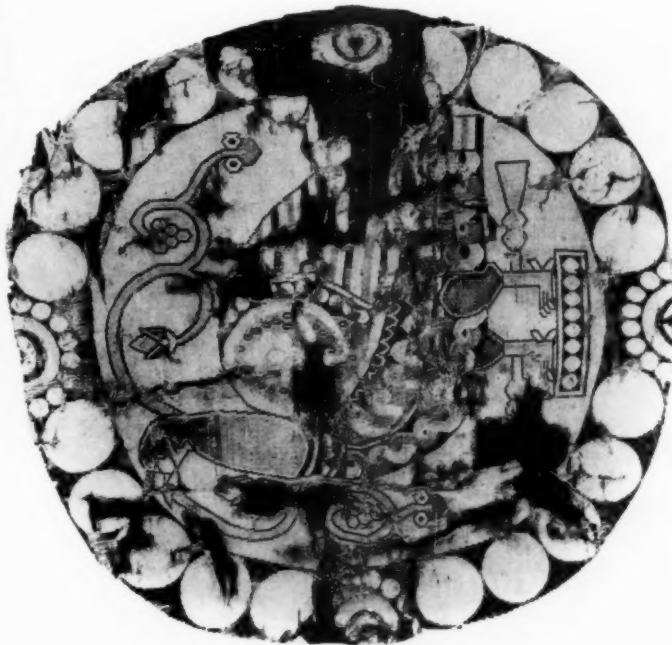
82. Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, new edition by 'Abdassalām Muḥammad Hārūn, Cairo, 1356 (1938), I, p. 124, "And every eunuch in the world, his origin is from Byzantium; and it is a strange thing that they are Christians." See also A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Ge-*



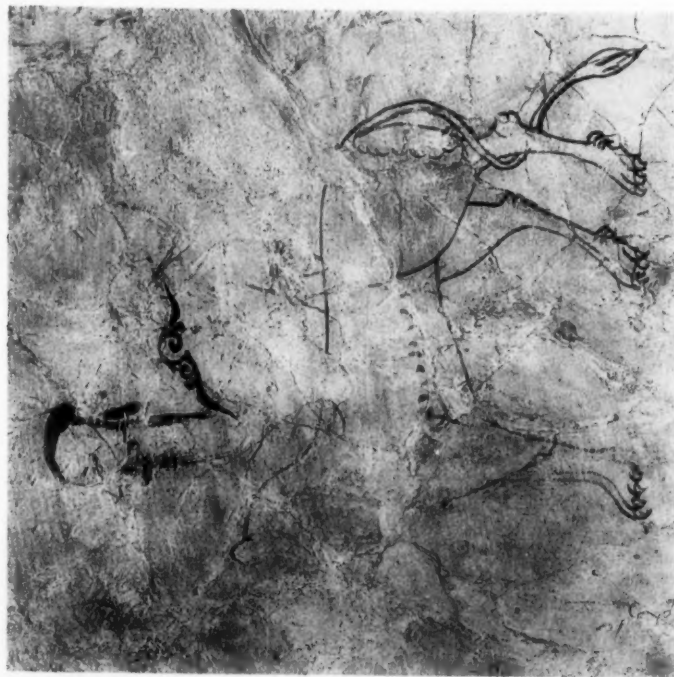
1. The Bukhtakin silk. Persia, x century. Paris, Louvre



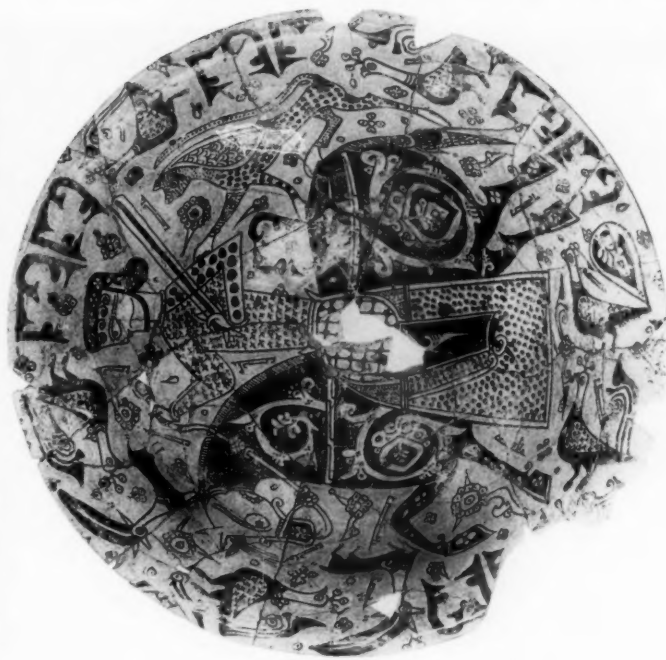
2. Byzantine silk from Tomb of Charlemagne. x century. Aix-la-Chapelle Cathedral



3. Sassanian silk with Goose
Rome, Vatican, Museo Cristiano



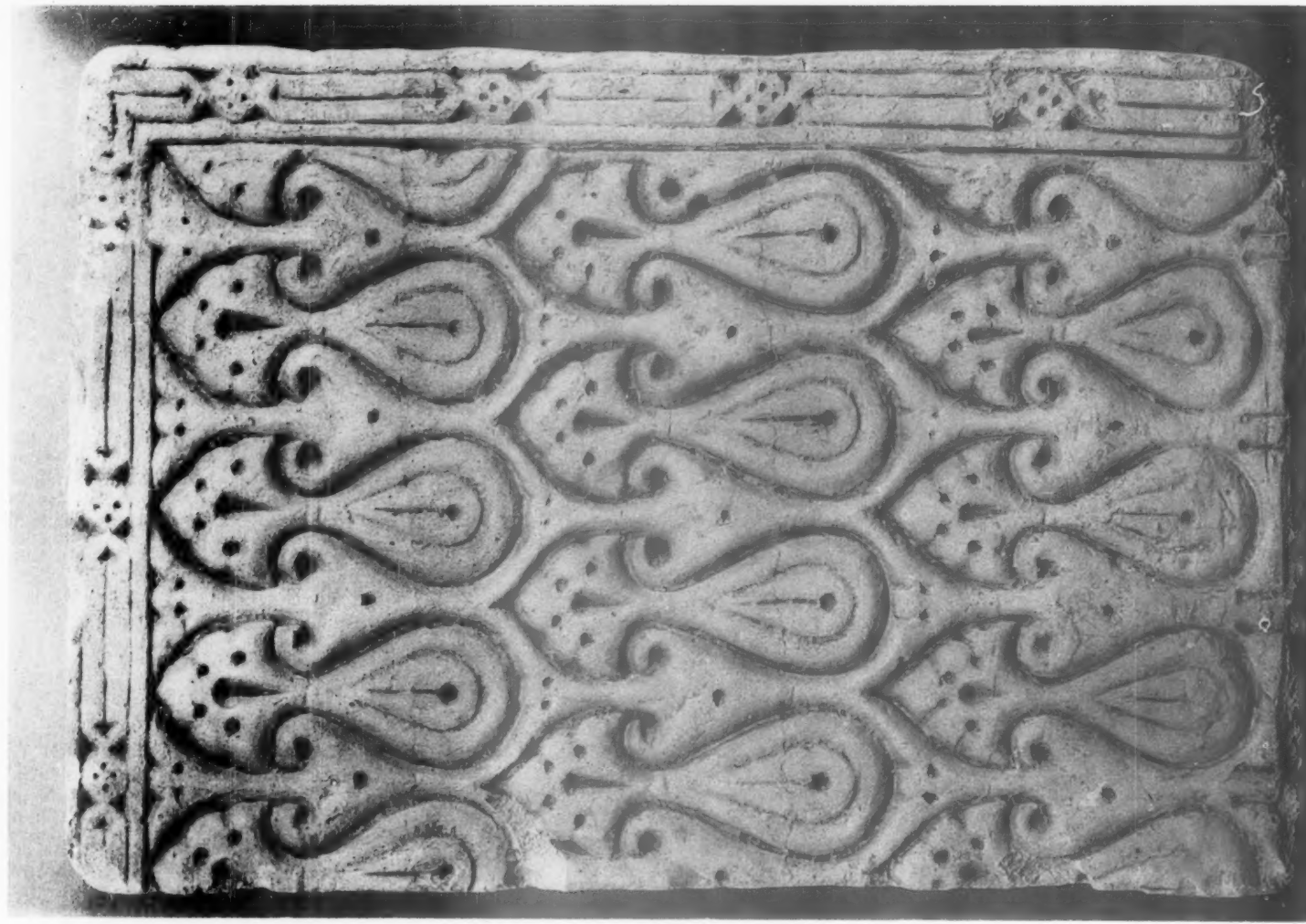
4. Sketch of a lion from Nishapur, ix-x century
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



5. Polychrome glazed bowl from Nishapur,
late ix century. Teheran, Archaeological Museum



6. Enameled glass bottle. Syria, ca. 1320. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



7. Carved stucco wainscot. Samarra, IX century (cast). Orn. 139, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

appearances in gowns patterned after the vestments of Christian bishops.⁸³ Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī records an interesting account, according to which the Caliph Walīd II used to hang around his neck a jewelled chain which he habitually changed every day.

Considering the mode of life pursued by these caliphs in their desert palaces and in the sophisticated capitol city of Damascus, one is justified in assuming⁸⁴ that their banquet tables must have been richly provided with all kinds of vessels made of precious metals, crystal, and other costly materials manufactured in the ancient artistic centers of Syria or imported from distant parts of the realm and the neighboring states.

Wine, in spite of severe prohibition by the Koran, was consumed since Muhammad's own days everywhere in the Islamic world, including Medina.⁸⁵ And we know that most of the Umayyad caliphs were particularly addicted to drinking bouts. Therefore, it would be strange, indeed, to believe that they were, on the one hand, defying *kalām Allāh* (i.e., "The word of god,") in drinking wine and, on the other hand, piously adhering to the prohibition of the *hadith* concerning the use of vessels fashioned from precious metals. The truth is that they discarded both prohibitions liberally and drank precious wine from precious goblets. The same can also be said, with one or two exceptions, about the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, and, as a matter of historical fact, about all Islamic courts and urban societies.⁸⁶ It is not without interest to note that the Islamic scientists ascribed to silver vessels accelerating properties with respect to the intoxicating effect of wine,⁸⁷ thus enhancing the popularity of the usage of silver cups and flasks in serving wine.

The prohibition of the *hadith* did not prevent the Islamic rulers from levying tribute of silver vessels upon their vassals. Al-Bāladhurī reports that when the Umayyad caliph Yazīd made peace with the Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān, the latter was bound to deliver "400 men, each with a shield and a Persian mantle, a silver cup and a saddle-cushion."⁸⁸ Another account about the taxes of the early 'Abbāsīd period quoted by Ibn Khaldūn from a work called *Jirāb al-Dawla* by a certain Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, clearly shows the volume of requirement of silver vessels in the Baghdad court. According to this document, the Iranian provinces of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān, and Nahāwand were taxed during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (813-833) besides other items with 300 silver bowls.⁸⁹

The festive tables of the caliphs were adorned not only with silver vessels, but evidently they also preferred to enjoy their drinks from golden bowls and flacons as well. There is a very interesting account about the drinking habits of al-Mutawakkil (847-861). Abu 'Alī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī says: "I was informed by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Juhanī after Abu Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdūn after his father, that al-Mutawakkil desired that every article whereon his eye should fall on the day of a certain drinking bout should be colored yellow. Accordingly there was erected a dome of

biète des Islams, Leipzig, 1873, p. 27; and, J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System of the Ninth Century*, London, 1911, pp. 120f. [As to the maṣūra in the mosque, Sauvaget does not derive it from Byzantium: Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris, 1947, pp. 149-152, especially p. 151: "Nous sommes fondés à l'assimiler au rideau tendu devant l'abside des salles d'audience pour 'séparer' le souverain et ses intimes du reste de l'assistance."]

83. A. Wensinck's communication to C. H. Becker, *op. cit.*, I, p. 497, n. 1.

84. Jean Sauvaget, "Remarques sur les monuments Omeyyades, II. Argenteries 'Sassanides,'" *Mélanges Asiatiques (Journal Asiatique)*, tome 232, 1940, fasc. 1, pp. 48-50, has shown that about thirty of the metal pieces published in the *Survey of Persian Art* as "Sassanian" are not so, but belong to the early Islamic period. And he quotes (p. 50, n. 1) from Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī: "L'usage des pièces d'orfèvrerie étant bien attesté dès le temps des Omeyyades. C'est ainsi que Walīd II boit dans un gobelet en or (*Aghānī*, XII, 81). Le gobelet de la femme de Hichām est en verre avec une monture dans laquelle entrent 80 mitqāl d'or (*ibid.*, XV, 51). 'Abd al-Malik a devant lui des coupes d'or (*ibid.*, VII, 67), etc." The

Kitāb al-Aghānī is particularly valuable for the Umayyad period because its author, Abū'l-Faraj, was "an Arab of the Arabs . . . a lineal descendant of Marwān, the last Umayyad Caliph" (R. A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 347). See further, Jean Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'orient musulman*, ed. with corrections and supplement, Paris, 1946, pp. 124-125.

85. See L. Caetani, "Il vino presso gli Arabi antichi e nei primi tempi dell'Islam," reference from I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 62, n. 94; also H. Lammens, "Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier," *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale, Université Saint-Joseph*, III, Beirut, 1908, pp. 273ff.

86. See also the observations of Sir T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford, 1928, p. 16f.

87. For example, Ibn Baīṭār, *Kitāb al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyā wa'l-Aghdīya*, Bulaq, 1291, III, p. 163, 32.

88. *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 338, 4, or trans. by F. C. Murgotten, *The Origin of the Islamic State*, New York, 1924, II, p. 44.

89. *Muqaddima*, I, pp. 322-323. These were required for the public treasury.

sandalwood covered and furnished with yellow brocade, and there were set in front of him melons and yellow oranges and wine in golden vessels; and only those slave girls were admitted who were yellow with yellow brocade gowns."⁹⁰

There must have been a great accumulation of gold and silver vessels in the treasury of the 'Abbāsids. As is well known, the caliph al-Muhtadī (869-870), succumbing to orthodox piety, ordered all vessels of precious metals to be broken, melted down, and minted into dinars and dirhams.⁹¹ But this was an exceptional action which is not difficult to explain. Al-Muhtadī was brought up at the time when the major collections of the *hadiths* were in the process of compilation and publication.⁹² Being by inclination a puritan, he stood under strong influence of the prevalent tendencies during codification and canonization of the *hadiths*. He was, however, the first and the last of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs to adhere to the letter of tradition. One of his successors, al-Muqtadīr (908-932) allowed himself to be carried to such an extreme as to issue a gold medal with the representation of his own portrait in a seated position holding a cup (of wine). On the reverse of this medal is the figure of a seated musician.⁹³ It should be remembered that not only human figures but also wine and music are subjects of prohibition by the *hadith*! During the reign of al-Muqtadīr (908-932), the palace was again filled with fabulous riches expressly prohibited by canon law. The descriptive account of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī of a Greek embassy to the 'Abbāsīd court in the year 917 gives a picture of intense interest. Reporting the accounts of an eyewitness, the author describes a "tree of silver, weighing 500,000 dirhams, having on its boughs mechanical birds, all singing, equally fashioned in silver. . . . The tree has eighteen branches, every branch having numerous twigs, on which sit all sorts of gold and silver birds, both large and small. Most of the branches of this tree are of silver, but some are of gold, and they spread into the air carrying leaves of divers colours." For the occasion, the store chambers were opened, "and treasures therein had been set out . . . the jewels of the caliph being arranged in trays, on steps, and covered with cloths of black brocade. . . . There were curtains of gold—of brocade embroidered with gold—all magnificently figured with representations of drinking vessels, and with elephants and horses, camels, lions, and birds." The account continues with a description of floor coverings, arms and armor, and the lifesize figures of horsemen decorating the palace.⁹⁴

Now there can be no doubt that a court possessing such a remarkable collection of precious objects was also well stocked with vessels of gold and silver. Al-Muqtadīr was a devotee of drinking bouts, musical entertainments, and dancing girls, and it is hardly imaginable that he would have pottery, brass, or glass vessels on his table because of the prohibition of the *hadith*. As a matter of fact, 'Arīb,

90. *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah*, text edited by D. S. Margoliouth in *Oriental Translation Fund*, New Series, XXVII, 1921, pp. 146f. The above translation is by D. S. Margoliouth, "The Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge," *Or. Transl. Fund*, XXVIII, 1922, pp. 159-160. [This translation by Margoliouth is not literally exact; read: ". . . a dome of sandalwood, gilded and hung with yellow patterned silk, and spread with yellow patterned silk. . . . And there were present only yellow slave girls, wearing dresses of fine yellow linen."]

91. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, VIII, p. 19, 6. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Kitāb al-Jamāhir*, p. 264, 10, quotes from a certain *Kitāb al-Mawālī*, that when the famous Umayyad statesman and soldier, al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, became the viceroy of 'Irāq and Fars, all vessels of gold and silver were destroyed by his order and their use was severely prohibited. I could not find a confirmation of this supposed action in any historical source known to me. The episode is also not mentioned in J. Perier's monographic study, *Vie d'Al-Ḥadjjādī ibn Yūsuf d'après les sources arabes*, Paris, 1904. If one considers his character, and his attitude toward religious matters, particularly his protestations "against the exaggerations of the extreme parties and against the disproportionate importance which even then was being accorded to tradition" (H. Lammens "Ḥadjj-

djādī" in *Encyclopedia of Islam*), it will be permissible to doubt the authenticity of the account given by *Kitāb al-Mawālī*. This book is evidently the now lost work of Abū 'Umar al-Kindī (d. 360/970); see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 1898, I, p. 149, al-Kindī, and p. 517, Nachträge.

92. Those of al-Bukhārī (870), Muslim (875), Ibn al-Māja (886), and Abu Dawūd (888).

93. H. Nutzel, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1901, XXII, pp. 259f., pl. LIXb, or Sir T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 125f. For a similar medal of al-Ṭā' (974-991), see O. Farit, "Essiz bir madalya," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnoğrafya Dergisi*, 1934, II, pp. 251f.

94. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, ed. G. Salmon, Paris, 1904, pp. 51, 2ff. This English translation of the passage was published by G. Le Strange, "A Greek Embassy to Baghdad in 917 A.D.," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897, pp. 39-40, 42. [Le Strange translates, "the jewels . . . were arranged in trays, on steps," but comments (p. 40, n. 1): "The word [read as trays] is 'kalābāt,' which I can find in no dictionary." This word, by adding a point, can be read as *qillāyāt*, which means closets or cupboards; that is, the jewels were on shelves covered with black brocade, in cases, as in a museum.]

speaking of the same reception of the Greek embassy, adds to the items exhibited for the occasion "ālāt of gold and silver,"⁹⁵ by which are meant not personal ornaments but furnishings consisting of tables, stands, bowls, cups, flacons, and the like.

One of al-Muqtadir's governors, the lord of Khuzistān, Abu'l-Husayn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Rāsibī, we are informed, left after his death in the year 913 possessions of great value, among which were golden vessels weighing 43,970 *mithqāls*, silver vessels weighing 1,975 *raṭls*, and additional silver vessels of 13,655 *dirhams*. According to 'Arīb, the value of these gold and silver vessels amounted to 100,000 dinars.⁹⁶

A great quantity of silver and gold vessels was likewise in the possession of the family of Abū Dulaf. Al-Ṭabarī says that 'Amr ibn Laith confiscated in the year 881/2 from the grandson of Abū Dulaf, Aḥmad, 300,000 *dinars*, 50 minas of musk, 50 minas of ambergris, 200 minas of aloes wood, 300 gowns made of patterned *aṭlas* and other stuffs, gold and silver vessels, horses, and pages valued at 200,000 *dinars*. And all these were sent to the caliph.⁹⁷

Not less luxurious was the court of the Umayyad rulers of Spain. Al-Maqqarī reports from older sources about a fountain in the palace at Madinat al-Zahrā, made by the order of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in Constantinople. To it were added twelve figures of animals and birds made of gold by the artists of Cordova. The same author also records how al-Manṣūr ibn Abi 'Āmir, during receptions of foreign ambassadors, displayed the gold and silver vessels of the court.⁹⁸

Let us now consider two more accounts of exceptional interest for our thesis which show that even judges did not consider the possession and use of vessels made of precious metals as a sin punishable by the fire of hell. Al-Mas'ūdī relates that Umm Ja'far, the wife of Harun al-Rashīd, gave as a reward to Abu Yūsuf, the famous *qādī* of Baghdad, a silver case containing two silver boxes filled with different kinds of perfume, together with a golden bowl filled with silver *dirhams* and a silver bowl filled with gold dinars.⁹⁹ The second account has been recorded by al-Tha'ālibī,¹⁰⁰ and after him by Ibn Khallikān.¹⁰¹ Here is the amazing story about the *qādī*, Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, who was deeply learned in the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites and in astrology: "He filled the place of *qādī* at Baṣra and al-Ahwāz for some years, and, on his removal from that office, he proceeded to the court of Saif al-Dawla ibn Hamdan as a visitor and eulogist. . . . He was one of the band of *qādīs* and jurisconsults who formed the vizir al-Muhallabī's social parties which met on two evenings of each week; all reserve was then discarded and they freely indulged in the pleasures of the table and gave loose to gaiety. . . . At these meetings, when once a perfect familiarity was established and sociability prevailed, their ears were gratified with the charms of music, and, yielding to the excitement of gaiety, they divested themselves of the robe of gravity to indulge in wine. Then . . . a golden cup, weighing one thousand *mithqāls*, and filled with delicious liquor of Kutrubbul or of Okbara, was placed in the hands of each; in these they dipped, or rather steeped their beards, till the contents were nearly all absorbed, and they then sprinkled each other by shaking off the drops. During this, they danced about in variegated dresses and in necklaces formed of white violets and the odoriferous seeds of the gum-acacia." And the participants of this drinking orgy were the guardians of the canon law of Islam, *sharī'ah*! But it should be remembered, "According to the

95. *Tabarī continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1897, p. 64, 15.

96. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, II, pp. 617, 20—618, 1; and 'Arīb, 44, 15. Both are referred to by P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1896-1926, VII, p. 846.

97. *Ta'rīkh al-Rusūl wa'l-Mulūk*, ser. 3, VII, pp. 2018, 4f.

98. *Kitāb Nafḥ al-ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb*, ed. R. Dozy et al., Leyden, 1855-1861, I, pp. 373, 23f., and II, pp. 731f. See also Sir T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 23. For the wealth of the Fatimid court in gold and silver vessels, one need only to read passages from *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-tuhaf*, quoted by Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iz wa'l-ittibār fī dhikr*

al-khiṭaṭ wa'l-āthār, Būlāq, 1270, I, pp. 414, 24f. [This has been translated and thoroughly annotated by Paul Kahle, "Die Schätze der Fatimiden," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, n.F. 14, 1935, pp. 329-362.]

99. *Murūj al-Dhahab*, VI, p. 295, 4; also Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafāyāt al-A'yān wa Anbā' abnā' al-Zamān*, Cairo, 1310, II, p. 313, 20.

100. *Yatīmat al-Dahr fī Mahāsin Ahl al-'Aṣr*, Damascus, 1304-1885, II, pp. 105, 20f.-106.

101. *op. cit.*, II, p. 353, 23f. This translation is quoted from de Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, 1843, II, pp. 305-306.

orthodox doctrine the Muslim remains a Muslim whatsoever sin he may commit, except polytheism."¹⁰²

In view of these and many other historical accounts confirming the use of gold and silver vessels since the very beginning of Islam by all who could afford such an expensive luxury, we cannot believe that, because of formal prohibitions, "earthenware was suddenly called to the fore to fulfill the needs of the highest ranks of Muslim society," that, as a consequence, "luxury substitutes" were encouraged and "a make-believe art" introduced, "one which used 'disembodied gold' in the form of a luster film to be applied on pottery."¹⁰³ It is a fallacy, in my opinion, to theorize that luster was invented for imitative purposes to safeguard the religious virtues of luxury-loving Moslems. It has been completely ignored, for example, that gilded copper is, from the technical and practical points of view, a better substitute for gold than lustered earthenware. Gilding is not condemned by the *hadith*, and the technique was known in the Near East from ancient times. Moreover, the process of gilding is far simpler than the application of luster.

The invention of luster was a technical achievement of high merit in the history of ceramic art, and was an original contribution devoid of pretentious meaning. It must not be forgotten that the lustered pottery of Samarra belongs to a period (836-889) during which, with the exception of one single year of al-Muhtadī's rule (869-870), the courts of the caliphs were well stocked with gold and silver vessels, and hence there was no real and compelling need or reason for substitutes. We know from the account of *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuḥaf*, quoted by al-Maqrizī,¹⁰⁴ that the court of the Fātimids likewise made lavish use of gold vessels as well as lustered pottery dishes which are described by Nāṣir-i Khusrau with much admiration.¹⁰⁵ These facts alone are sufficient to preclude the opinion that the prohibitions of the *hadith* were responsible for the employment of luster.

Nor can the inlaying of silver and gold on bronze or brass objects be disposed of as "make-believe art" or "luxury substitutes." The historical appearance of the technique is strong testimony against such an assumption. One can hardly attribute it to the need for luxury substitutes in the second millennium B.C. and again during the Hellenistic period in Egypt,¹⁰⁶ or in China during the latter part of the Chou dynasty and particularly during the Han period,¹⁰⁷ and no more in Islam.

V. SILK

In this connection, I should like to call attention to another prohibition of the *hadith* which remained equally unheeded by Moslems. Attributed to the authority of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, it has been related that Muhammad once "took silk and placed it in his right hand. He then took gold and placed it in his left hand and said: 'These are surely unlawful for the male of my people.'"¹⁰⁸ Like every other *hadith*, this particular subject of prohibition was also discussed by legists for centuries. Abū Ḥanīfa, the founder of one of the principal *madhhabs* in Islam, one who, because of his liberal views, was accused of not attaching importance to the *hadiths*, considered the use of silk by males not a punishable sin.¹⁰⁹ The others, however, adhered to the letter of the tradi-

102. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed, Its Genesis and Historical Development*, Cambridge, 1932, p. 17.

103. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 255ff. This opinion is found in almost all writings on Islamic pottery. As early as 1884, J. V. Karabacek in "Zur muslimischen Keramik," *Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient*, No. 12, p. 282, discussed the question of gold and silver vessels with the remark that "auch solche von Kupfer und Bronze, waren nach den kanonischen Satzungen streng verpönt" (!).

104. See reference in note 98, above.

105. *op. cit.*, text p. 52, 5-8, and translation, p. 151.

106. See P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, Paris, 1928-1929, pp. 173-184, pls. xcvi, xcix-cii and cv; Fr. W. von Bissing, *Ein Thebanischer Grabfund aus dem Anfang des neuen Reichs*,

Berlin, 1900, p. 2, pl. 11; and A. Heckler, "Die hellenistischen Bronzegefäße aus Egypt," *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1909, xxiv, pp. 28-40, pls. 3 and 4.

107. J. G. Andersson, "The Goldsmith in Ancient China," *Bulletin. The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Stockholm*, no. 7, 1935, pp. 8f., pls. 11 and 111; and M. Rostovtzeff, *Inlaid Bronzes of the Han Dynasty in the Collection of G. T. Loo*, Paris-Brussels, 1927.

108. Walī al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh*, ed. and transl. by Alhaj Maulana Fazlul Karim, Calcutta, 1938-1940, I, pp. 624f., no. 82.

109. Badr al-Dīn ibn Jamā'a, *Tahrīr al-Aḥkām fī tadbīr ahl al-Islām*, edited and translated by Hans Kofler, "Handbuch des Islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungs-rechtes von Badr-ad-

tion and were uncompromisingly severe in their condemnation. A compromising attitude on the part of theological opinion, such as will be discussed later in regard to figural art, was also inevitable in the case of silk. Two characteristic opinions will suffice to illustrate this slackening. Badr al-Dīn ibn Jamā'a, the chief *qādī* of Egypt in the year 690 (1291), in his manual of state and administrative laws, remarks that it is forbidden to males to wear "pure silk like brocade and *al-marzawī* [a kind of silk textile, produced in Marw(?)] with the exception of a border of a garment and its fringes." He adds, "Silk is allowed with the stipulation that [the utilization of] it does not exceed the name only."¹¹⁰ This is, admittedly, a compromising retreat. Still more striking is the approach of another authority on legalist matters. Ibn al-Ukhūwwa, the author of a book on the duties of the *muhtasib*, in speaking about judges and witnesses, observes: "Dressing in silk and sitting on it and wearing gold and using it are forbidden. But these are minor sins."¹¹¹

The importance of the silk industry in Islamic countries is too well known to be discussed here. It should be pointed out, however, that the male members of society made lavish use of its products for personal attire in no less a degree than the women. The historical literature is full of references to silk garments, turbans, and the like, worn by caliphs, kings, nobles, and everybody who could afford it. One need only read the highly informative study of R. B. Serjeant, "Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest,"¹¹² to see how widespread and general was the disobedience to the authority of *hadith*.

VI. PROHIBITION OF PICTORIAL ART¹¹³

The factors which caused the prohibition of pictorial art in Islam were manifold. The attitude originated in the monotheistic concept of Judaism; later it was widely propagated in early Christianity, resulting in iconoclasm, and then was readily accepted by *al-sunna*. It is of great importance for our question to remember that the major corpora of the *hadiths* were edited and codified during the second half of the ninth century. Thus all of the *hadiths* bearing upon the prohibition of images were originated about 850. But wall-paintings of human figures existed long before this, as at Qusayr 'Amra,¹¹⁴ the Umayyad palace of A.D. 711-715, then at Samarra, the Abbasid capital,¹¹⁵ and continued even later in Fatimid Egypt.¹¹⁶

VII. ATTITUDE TOWARD CRAFTSMEN

Von Kremer was the first to expound the social transformation which brought about the recognition of the craftsman's place in Moslem Society.¹¹⁷ Ettinghausen speaks of an "integrating and democratizing social process" as taking place in the second and third centuries of the Hijra.¹¹⁸ This

dīn ibn Ġamā'ah," text in *Islamica*, VI, 1933-1934, p. 386, and trans. of same title, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1938), XXIII, 6 (*Schlussheft der Zeitschrift "Islamica"*) page 39: as to silk, "Nach Abu Hanifah aber ist es erlaubt."

110. Badr al-Dīn ibn Jamā'a, text *loc. cit.*, and trans. *loc. cit.* [Kofler translates the word *marzawī* as "aus Marz," though such a place-name seems to be lacking in most of the geographers, and the adjective from a noun Marz ought to be *Marzī*. One suspects a scribal error in the ms, to be corrected to *marwazī*, which is the regular adjective for Marw.]

111. *The Ma'ālīm al-Qurba fī Ahkām al-Hisba*, E. J. W. Gibbs Memorial Series, n.s., XII, ed. and trans. R. Levy, London, 1938, text p. 213, 14, tr. p. 85.

112. *Ars Islamica*, IX-XVI, 1942-1951.

113. A short section of the manuscript, entitled "Iconography," directed to showing that the life of Muhammad could have furnished material for use in a religious art, has been

omitted here. The section on the prohibition of pictorial art was extensive, and is omitted here, except for the few sentences which follow. The original version may be consulted in the Department of Near Eastern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.—EDITOR.

114. Qusayr 'Amra, see Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, III, *Les châteaux arabes Qesir 'Amra, Harāneh et Tūba*, Paris, 1922, 2 vols., text and plates.

115. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*, VII, p. 19; E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 3, 9ff. and 34.

116. R. Ettinghausen, "Painting of the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction," *Ars Islamica*, IX, 1942, pp. 112-124.

117. *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna, 1875, II, p. 183. Cf. also I. Goldziher, "Die Handwerke bei den Arabern," *Globus*, LXVI, 1894, p. 204.

118. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

change, in my opinion, did not take place during the third century (A.D. 816 to 912), but later.

A verse of Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya (d. ca. 210/825) is cited by Ettinghausen: "When a pious man fears God in the right way, it does not matter, even if he should be a weaver or cupper." However, in my opinion, this does not reflect a "changed social attitude." It is, rather, a loud complaint about the still prevailing low position of craftsmen. It should be remembered that before his fame as a poet and his invitation to Baghdad by the caliph al-Mahdī, Abu'l-ʿAtāhiya was either a pottery merchant or a potter in Kufa.¹¹⁹ Rising from obscurity to the height of an exalted intellectual and, as Goldziher remarked,¹²⁰ being an ascetic with Buddhistic inclinations, his was merely a protestation and a plea.

There is some evidence that during the entire third century of the Hijra, craftsmen still formed the lower stratum of society. In a treatise attributed to al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868), it is reported that once the caliph al-Ma'mūn expressed himself about craftsmen in the following manner: "The ordinary folk constitute the dregs [of the population], the craftsmen are vile, the tradesmen are avaricious, the secretaries, on the contrary, are kings over the people."¹²¹ This attitude was largely due to the fact that most of those engaged in handicrafts were *marwālī* and *dhimmī*,¹²² a fact which is clearly shown again by a statement of al-Jāḥiẓ in his *al-Raddʿalā al-Naṣāra*, which he presumably wrote at the request of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. Here is his argument: "But if our masses knew that the Christians [of the Islamic domain] and Byzantines are not men of science and rhetoric, and are not people of deep reflection, and possess nothing except the handiworks of iron and wood and the crafts of painting and silk weaving, they would remove them from the roll of men of culture, and would strike their names off the list of philosophers and scientists."¹²³ No doubt such a polemic is tendentious; nevertheless it reflects the views with which we are concerned.¹²⁴

Even around the year A.D. 900, as von Grunebaum pointed out, when ibn al-Faḳīh and his ilk discuss the stratification of mankind, they refrain from assigning merchants and craftsmen an honorable place in the social scale. "The littérateur aligned the commercial and artisan group with the nameless scum." This snobbery expresses "the values of Iranian feudalism that in no way accord with those of Arab society."¹²⁵

It was towards the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra (ca. A.D. 970) that the craftsmen gradually began to assume their rightful place in the community. This was possible with the establishment of *aṣṇāf* (guilds).

The beginning of the guild movement in Islam is closely connected with the foundation of the sect, known after the name of its founder, Ḥamdān Qarmat, as the Qarmatians, in the last decades

119. Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al Aghānī*, Bulaq, 1285, III, p. 126, 21.

120. I. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

121. *Le livre des beautés et des antithèses attribué à Abu Othman Amr ibn Bahr al-Djahiz*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden, 1898, and the translation by O. Rescher (Pseudo-) Ḡāhiz, *Das Kitāb el-mahāsīn wa'l-masāwī*, Constantinople, 1926, p. 148.

122. About "anti-dhimmī movement," see G. von Grunebaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 182f.

123. *Three essays of Abu 'Othman 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Jāḥiẓ* (d. 869), ed. J. Finkel, Cairo, 1926, p. 16, 14-16. The translation quoted is by J. Finkel, "A Risāla of al-Jāḥiẓ," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLVII, 1927, p. 326. [Prof. Arthur Jeffery of Columbia University has kindly provided a translation of this passage which is more accurate than Finkel's, as follows: "Had the (Muslim) people known that the Christians (of Western Asia) and the Byzantines had no science, no rhetoric, no reflective literature, but only skill in handicrafts, in the way of wood-turning, carpentry, figure drawing and silk weaving, they would have rejected them from the ranks of men of letters and removed them from the register of philosophers." In other words, Jāḥiẓ does not say that the Byzantines lack culture, and he is not condemning

the arts. Jāḥiẓ simply points out the difference between the arts, on the one hand, and literature, science and philosophy, on the other hand.] See also I. S. Allouche, "Un traité de polémique chrétienne-musulmane du IX^e siècle," *Hespéris*, XXVI, 1939, p. 134.

124. I am fully aware of the character of Jāḥiẓ's literary style and his frequent inconsistencies. As J. Finkel pointed out in his translation, p. 326, n. 47, in another of his writings Jāḥiẓ considered the Arabs, Persians, Hindus, and Byzantines as the only people of culture.

125. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, p. 215; his next sentence is: "Pagan Mecca had been a state of merchants, Mohammed had been engaged in trade, and Islam favored commerce as well as the crafts." [Under the Umayyads, true Arabs, there was no such condemnation of artists and craftsmen; on the contrary they were encouraged. For instance, when the Umayyad mosque at Medina was being built (A.D. 706-710) the governor of the city was so pleased with the beauty of the mosaics that he gave to the mosaic artist a bonus of 30 dirhams (Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, p. 81). And in the Umayyad period artists' signatures begin to appear; they signed their names as proudly as had any Greek vase painter.]

of the third century of the Hijra (A.D. 902-912). Being of a strong social and political character, the Qarmatian movement brought under its influence the *mawālī* as well as Jewish and Christian communities, and it was among these oppressed non-Arab subjects of the caliphate, who were mostly traders and craftsmen, that the first guilds in the Islamic social structure came into being.¹²⁶ The earliest reference to Islamic guilds is found in the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', an eclectic philosophical school strongly permeated with Hellenistic ideas. It is evident from the *Rasā'il*, where a special discussion has been devoted to *sharaf al-ṣanā'ī*, i.e., "the eminence of the crafts," that social recognition was attained by some branches of the arts and crafts in the middle of the fourth century of the Hijra. To quote von Grunebaum's summary: "The crafts, the Ikhwān explain, differ in virtue when considered from these five angles: (1) the material on which they work: here goldsmith and perfumer have the advantage; (2) the product they achieve: the makers of complicated instruments like the astrolabe rank highest; (3) the urgency with which their work is needed: this viewpoint favors the weaver, the farmer, and the builder; (4) utility for the general public: bath-keepers and scavengers are vitally important for the weal of the city; and (5) when taken per se, as skills, without regard to utility, etc., prestidigitators, painters (*muṣawwir*) and musicians are justified by their accomplishments as such."¹²⁷

Such an observation defining the merits of crafts is a distinct departure from the attitude nurtured only half a century earlier. The intellectual members of society gathered in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' went so far as to advise the inheritance of crafts within a family as being a commendable practice.¹²⁸ Such an institution had been operative among Jewish and Christian communities for many centuries.

In the course of the formation of their organizational system, complete with complicated rituals, each occupational guild adopted a Biblical prophet or one of the *aṣḥāb* as the originator of their particular profession. These were patron saints. Adam was the first tiller, Seth the first weaver, David the first armorer, and so on. The idea itself was, however, not an innovation of the Islamic guild system. It was a survival of the patron saints of Greek professional associations and Roman *collegia*,¹²⁹ with the difference that the protective functions of pagan gods and Christian saints were transferred to the Islamic prophets and *aṣḥāb*.

VIII. "FLAT STYLE"

There can be no doubt that the strong orthodox opposition to the representation of living beings was responsible for the "degradation of figure art." Going farther, it has been suggested that there is a "flat style," considered to have been "invented" within Islamic art, in which figures have a "jumping jack" appearance, as if made of flat pieces and moved by the manipulation of a string. In illustration of this, the elephants decorating the Bukhtakīn silk textile in the Louvre (Fig. 1) are cited, considered as an example of "the first well-developed Islamic style of the tenth Christian century." The reason for the invention of this style has been given as follows: "Figures, or three-dimensional forms, have to be transformed in a peculiar way in order to be acceptable to Moslem society. They must not show the 'six directions or five senses,' the prerequisite of living forms. Every representation has to be changed from the living aspect to a purely mechanical one."¹³⁰ Such an approach calls for some critical observations.

126. L. Massignon, "Ṣūfī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; and "Islamic Guilds," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, VII, p. 214. Also, H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens* (Türkische Bibliothek, vol. 16), Berlin, 1913; and J. Wach, *Sociology of Religion*, Chicago, 1944, pp. 237f. About Jewish guilds, consult I. Mendelsohn, "Guilds in Babylonia and Assyria," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LX, 1940, p. 68; "Guilds in Ancient Palestine," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, LXXX, 1940, p. 17; and S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community*, Phila-

delphia, 1942, I, pp. 346f. For Byzantine guilds, see F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, 1909, pp. 116f.

127. *Rasā'il*, I, p. 32.7f. Cf. Fr. Dieterici, *Die Philosophie der Araber im X. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Leipzig, 1858-1895, XI, p. 233; G. von Grunebaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

128. *Rasā'il*, I, p. 35; cf. also G. von Grunebaum, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

129. H. Thorning, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

130. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

First of all, it will be a denial of the basic nature of man's artistic expression if it is assumed that this or that style was "invented" in order that it may be acceptable to this or that society. Styles are not invented; they are evolved; and causes for evolvement are manifold, being of external and internal nature. But, we are concerned here only with a single question, namely, why and how "figures, or three-dimensional forms" were transferred into devices of a "jumping-jack" appearance.

Adolph Goldschmidt introduced into art criticism a conception which he called *die Formenspaltung*, defined in the following words: "Der Vorgang besteht darin, dass eine Form, sei es in der Natur, sei es in einem Kunstwerk, von dem Betrachter nicht in ihrem organischen Zusammenhang, sondern nur als Summe von Einzelheiten erfasst wird, so etwa, dass man an einem Menschen sieht, dass ein Kopf und Glieder vorhanden sind, aber nicht, dass dieselben in einem bestimmten Grössenverhältnis zu einander stehen, nicht, dass sie vollständig sein und eine ganz bestimmte Aneinanderfühlung haben müssen, um einen Menschen zu gestalten." Further: "Man kann in der Hauptsache zwei Arten solcher Formenspaltung unterscheiden: den einfachen Zerfall eines Gesamteindrucks in Einzeleindrücke und zweitens die Spaltung in einen summarischen Eindruck und in damit verbundene Einzeleindrücke. Die Fortbildung zeigt sich dann bei beiden Arten in der weiteren Verwertung der Trennungsergebnisse."

"Am deutlichsten sind diese Vorgänge nachzuweisen in jener für unsere Kultur massgebenden Periode, in der die Erzeugnisse der ausgereiften bildnerischen Gestaltung der Griechen und Römer von ungeschulten nordischen und östlichen Stämmen aufgenommen und nachgeahmt wurden, also gegenüber *Kunsterzeugnissen*, wie es ja überhaupt in der Kunstübung immer das Näherliegende ist, auf einer schon durch die Kunst interpretierten Natur weiterzubauen, als sich an die Natur selbst zu wenden."¹³¹ This lengthy quotation was necessary to explain why some of the figures of tenth-century Islamic art look like a "jumping-jack." It is this process of *Formenspaltung* combined with exaggerated ornamental emphasis and produced in this particular instance through the medium of the weaving technique that gives the peculiar "mechanical" appearance to the elephants of the Bukhtakīn textile.

If I am not mistaken, G. Migeon was one of the first to compare these elephants with those of the famous silk fabric discovered in the shrine containing the remains of Charlemagne (Fig. 2).¹³² The Byzantine origin of this piece is attested to by a Greek inscription and is beyond question.¹³³ Although belonging to a different artistic tradition, nevertheless, the elephants of the Byzantine piece exhibit the same peculiarities which are so conspicuous in the beasts of the Bukhtakīn textile. All have the same ears consisting of a bunch of lobes held together by a circlet and a band respectively; their trunks, curving inward, are formed by a row of lobes; their legs, instead of being columnar in shape, are split into sections with accentuated ankles marked by circlets, and rounded toes, numbering three, are set in rows; finally, their tails end with a tassel. Thus the figures are, one may say, constructed from individually conceived units (ear, trunk, leg, and so on); each of them, in its turn is split into smaller units, all of which are then brought together to reproduce an elephant.

This artistic concept is neither specifically Islamic nor Byzantine, but medieval, and was operative in greater or lesser degree in the West and in the Near East. A good example from the pre-Islamic period of Iran is the well-known Sassanian silk textile with ducks or geese in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (Fig. 3). The artistic concept which guided the designer of the Bukhtakīn textile was formative also in this Sassanian case. A simpler example from seventh-century Coptic art is the textile with the equestrian pattern in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Düsseldorf. Of both the horse

131. "Die Bedeutung der Formenspaltung in der Kunstentwicklung," *Independence, Convergence, and Borrowing in Institutions, Thought, and Art* (Harvard Tercentenary Publications), Cambridge, Mass., 1937, pp. 167f. The author sug-

gested "disintegration" as the English equivalent for the term.

132. *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris, 1927, II, p. 292.

133. O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 594-595.

and its rider it may be said that they "are absolutely flat, and the parts look as if they were cut of thin sheets of metal or cardboard and then fixed together." Finally, striking examples in Western art are found in Irish miniatures, as in the St. Matthew of the Irish Gospels from Echternach. The attire of the saint has been split in three sections, each transformed into an abstract ornamental device: the upper section is in the shape of a heart, the middle one consists of two large lobes, and the lower of two almonds.¹³⁴ In view of such occurrences, it should be clear that the "flat style" with figures of "jumping-jack appearance" is not due to a supposed intention to invent "purely mechanical" representations of living beings "in order to be acceptable to Moslem society."¹³⁵

IX. THREE-DIMENSIONAL FORM

It has been suggested that before and after the tenth-century flat style, when the artist reverted again to three-dimensional form, another method was used to counteract it: "In this instance, the massive solidity of an ordinary or zoomorphic vessel was overcome by decorating it in a fashion which was contrary to the idea of the vessel." Examples cited as representative are the eighth-century hawk in the Berlin Museum and the eleventh-century griffin in the Campo Santo of Pisa, whose bodies are covered with engraved ornaments, and the twelfth-century Bobrinski bucket with inlaid figural and inscriptional bands. It is true that most of the Islamic zoomorphic vessels are covered with "engraved design which has nothing whatsoever to do with the animal itself" and that these decorations "are not very conspicuous and are only of secondary nature." But I cannot agree with the further suggestion that "still they (*i.e.*, these ornamental decorations) demonstrate that the creature . . . cannot be counted as among the living."¹³⁶ Most assuredly the griffin of Pisa was not among the living, but there are among early Islamic sculptured animals pieces, which, in spite of the net of design covering their bodies, are realistically represented and are vibrating with the vigor of life and could not be perceived otherwise either by their contemporary or by modern observers. An instance is a recently discovered hawk now in the State Hermitage at Leningrad.¹³⁷ A work of the eighth century, its neck is decorated with engraved and silver-inlaid bands of *kufi* inscription and scrolls, and on the breast is a medallion containing an eight-pointed star. It will be admitted that the artist at work on it was primarily concerned with fashioning a lifelike bird full of energy and hardly any surface design could deprive it of its realistic aspects. The same can also be said about the hawk in the Berlin Museum.

Among early Islamic-Iranian zoomorphic vessels, there are two outstanding pieces, a goose

134. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 9389. See E. H. Zimmerman, *Vorcarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, pl. 255a. For further examples, see S. F. M. Robinson, *Celtic Illuminative Art in the Gospel Books of Durrow, Lindesfarne, and Kells*, Dublin, 1908, pl. iv, and H. Hieber, *Die Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters*, Munich, 1912, figs. 30, 31, and 37.

135. A. Goldschmidt (*op. cit.*, p. 174), among others, called attention to representations of trees during the Romanesque period, whereby first their general outlines are drawn and afterward leaves are filled in. This particular aspect of *Formenspaltung* can be observed not only in Islamic art, but in a great many artistic cultures of various periods. Here are a few examples: (1) the stele of Naram Sin (E. Herzfeld in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1938, ix, p. 29, fig. 177: "der malerische Baum."); (2) the terrace sculptures of Persepolis (F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin, 1910, fig. 11); (3) the fresco in the niche of the great Buddha in Bāmiyān (J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Paris, 1933, pl. xxv); (4) the frescoes of Ming-Öi in Chinese Turkestan (A. Grünwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, Berlin, 1912, figs. 125-127, and 224); (5) the Sassanian silk textile from

St. Ursula at Köln (Julius Lessing, *Die Gewebe-Sammlung des K. Kunstgewerbe-Museums*, Berlin, 1900, i, pl. 26, and, F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 98); (6) a miniature of a Serbian manuscript (J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters*, Vienna, 1906, pl. xxxiv); (7) the miniatures of an Arabic translation of Galen's *Electuaries* (Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture iranienne*, Bruges, 1936, pl. viii, b and c); (8) the miniatures of an anthology manuscript in the Türk ve Islam Asari Müzesi (M. Aga-Oglu, "The landscape miniatures of an Anthology manuscript of the year 1398 A.D.," *Ars Islamica*, III, 1936, fig. 5) and many others. This tentative list shows that this treatment of trees is not originally Islamic, but much older, and widely dispersed.

136. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

137. A preliminary report about the piece was published by R. Kesati, "A bronze figure of an eagle," *Bulletin of the State Hermitage*, Leningrad, i, 1940, pp. 12-13, fig. on page 12 (article in Russian). The piece is dated and signed, but unfortunately information about neither fact is mentioned in this report. Its height is 38 cm. [See also: M. M. Diakonov, "Arabic Inscription on a Bronze Eagle in the Collections of the Hermitage," *Epigrafika Vostoka*, IV, 1951, pp. 24-27 (in Russian), unfortunately still without adequate illustration.]

and a deer, both exhibiting, as F. Sarre already pointed out,¹³⁸ a realistic conception which distinguishes them from more stylized animal figures of the Fatimid period, and there is, of course, a reason for this. Their bodies are entirely devoid of ornamental decoration. Even if they were covered with an all-over design, it could hardly diminish the enhanced plasticity which the pieces inherited from the earlier period. This persisting "Iranian realism" of the early Islamic period is best illustrated by a remarkable drawing of a lion dating from the ninth century, discovered by the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Nishapur (Fig. 4).¹³⁹ It is more remarkable when this drawing is compared with the horse on the large polychrome glazed bowl of the Museum at Teheran, dating from the same century and found in the same locality (Fig. 5).¹⁴⁰ Here the horse's body is covered with scrolls of palmettes in contrast to the plain body of the lion. The same contradiction can be observed in other regions of Islamic art, for example, in Egypt, and in the Fatimid period to which the griffin of Pisa belongs. I have in mind the bronze lion in the Landesmuseum at Kassel. Rigorous in modeling, its body is plain, save for a single line of engraved *kufi* inscription giving the name of the artist, 'Abd Allah al-Maththāl.

In spite of these apparent diversities, it must be admitted that most of the zoomorphic forms are covered with engraved or inlaid ornaments. The reason for this was not, I am inclined to believe, the desire to suppress the living aspects of animal figures, but rather the intense artistic volition for embellishment, an aesthetic trend common to all Orientals. By achieving this artistic end, the central theme is so overburdened by unnecessary pedantic elements that the principal subject is often obscured and its value is sacrificed for capricious ornamental trivialities. T. Chenery's characterization of the *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī, the most important work of Arabic prose literature, is so penetrating that it can be applied to artistic expressions in other fields. The style of the *Maqāmāt*, he says, "is a continuous display of rhetorical artifices and is full, from beginning to end, of alliteration, assonance, rhyme, paronomasia, and what Europeans are apt to consider merely verbal conceits."¹⁴¹ As a result of this verbal embellishment, the subject matter—the central theme—has been depressed and prominence is given to pedantry, so characteristic also for the type of ornamental configuration which bears rightly the name of *arabesque*.

Coming to ordinary vessels—buckets, ewers, jars, and so on—the surfaces of which are decorated in registers or otherwise with engraved, inlaid, or painted designs (depending on the material from which they are fashioned), I would like to ask: What does this particular subject have to do with the Islamic theological denial of nature? After all, man since the very beginning of his artistic activity decorated objects of daily use for the purpose of rendering them enjoyable to the eyes and stimulating to the mind. Prehistoric men employed devices from their symbolic repertoire; the Greeks, subjects from their rich store of mythology; the Moslems, exploits of kings and nobles, and all of them, ornaments of a noninterpretive category.

Ettinghausen maintains that the method of decorating the surface of vessels in Islamic art was aimed toward dissolving its three-dimensional form. He speaks of the decoration of the Bobrinski bucket with the following words: "The very heavy mass of the vessel is entirely overcome by five registers of inlaid figures which not only have no direct connection with the vessel, but are so varied, bright and lively that they attract immediate attention and distract the onlooker from noticing the shape itself." He adds: "An even more outspoken way of dissolving form [was achieved by] the use of luster painting on vessels, [whereby] the unreal glittering and sheen of the metal

138. F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, pls. 138-139, p. 73.

139. W. Hauser and Charles K. Wilkinson, "The Museum's Excavations at Nishapur," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxxvii, no. 4, April 1942, p. 118 and fig. 46.

140. *ibid.*, pp. 112-114, and fig. 42 on p. 116. Cf. also the horse of the huntsman of the wall painting, which is likewise devoid of ornamentation; *ibid.*, fig. 45.

141. T. Chenery, *The Assemblies of al Hariri*, translated from the Arabic, with an introduction and notes historical and grammatical, London, 1867, 1, pp. 83-84. [According to Chenery (p. 40), Hariri's work is not a simple prose, but consists of *rhymed prose* and verse; and (pp. 18-19) its form, the *maqāmāt*, is taken from the form created by the Persian, Hamadāni.] See also H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, p. 5.

surface leads necessarily to the dissolution of the solid body . . ." (p. 260). This is an attractive observation and can also be repeated about the Corinthian pot of about 600 B.C. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but the question still remains to be answered, namely, were ordinary vessels covered with inlay or luster painting for the sole purpose of dissolving their forms because Moslem society could not accept three-dimensional forms of solid bodies? If this was an Islamic religious manifestation against three-dimensionality, then how can we explain Chinese bronze vessels of the Chou and Han periods,¹⁴² which were likewise elaborately covered with gold and silver inlay and "in a fashion which was contrary to the idea of the vessel." Did the Chinese also object to three-dimensional forms?

X. "HUMBLE BASE"

Another trait suggested as peculiarly characteristic of Islamic art is the use of a "humble base." Massignon's opinion was, "L'art musulman préfère se servir d'une matière malléable, humble, sans épaisseur, comme un vêtement flottant, comme un métal fusible. . . . L'art pour eux passe dessus comme une espèce de reflet."¹⁴³ Ettinghausen, also, asserts, "If one would dare to generalize, one might say in its visible aspect Islamic art usually consists of a humble base; this is often covered with some sparkling or evanescent surface decoration which purports to be of precious material and presents forms divested of corporeal substance. A thin layer of bright tilework or of faïence mosaic over a brick building, a luster film enveloping a glazed earthenware vessel, a network of enamels on a glass lamp, thin pieces of silver and wires of gold inlaid on a brass ewer, lustrous wool or silk pile knotted in a cotton base fabric—all these with abstract or unnaturalistic two-dimensional designs are characteristic creations of Islamic artists."¹⁴⁴

Brick, as a constructional material, I will return to later; here I shall only say that the practice of facing buildings was known in the Near East since ancient times.¹⁴⁵ If the facing of brick buildings was a general practice for centuries before Islam and was also employed in Byzantium and elsewhere, then why should it be tied to the notion of unreality, impermanency, or sense of humbleness of the Moslems?

I leave lustered pottery aside, but cannot refrain from commenting on glass and embroidery. Glass was made everywhere in the Near East long before Islam. Most of the techniques employed by Islamic glassmakers were survivals from earlier periods, but, in the course of development, new decorative methods were evolved, among which luster painting and enameling are particularly conspicuous. The beginning of the latter technique is obscure. Its greatest period of development extends from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries and its preserved examples belong to most important objects of decorative arts of all countries and centuries. The magnificent bottle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 6) cannot be matched by any glass object produced in the West since the Roman period.¹⁴⁶ The application of enamel on glass is neither a manifestation springing out of religious orientation nor is glass a "humble" material. Indeed, compared with rock crystal, glass is not precious, but is of more material value than ordinary earthenware. Such an approach, however, to materials from which objects of decorative arts are fashioned is irrelevant for the evaluation of any artistic manifestation, be it of Moslems or Christians.

142. A Chou bronze inlaid with gold, A. G. Wenley, *A Descriptive and Illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes* (Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Studies, no. 3), Washington, 1946, pl. 32, below, no. 39.41. A Han bronze inlaid with silver, W. Perceval Yetts, *The George Eumorfopoulos Collection of the Chinese and Korean Bronzes*, London, 1929, I, pl. LIII, A 76, a cosmetic box.

143. Massignon, *op. cit.* (Syria, II), p. 149.

144. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

145. See E. Douglas van Buren, "Archaic Mosaic Wall

Decoration," *Artibus Asiae*, IX, 1946, pp. 323f.; E. Diez, *Iranische Kunst*, Vienna, 1944, p. 105. O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925, p. 106; cf. also, p. 76. About the problem of facing with glazed tiles in Byzantine art, see D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 6, 13, and 97f.

146. I am not taking into consideration the stained-glass windows of medieval Europe. The technique is fundamentally different.

As for "lustrous wool or silk pile knotted in a cotton-base fabric," this is again a very unfortunate interpretation because Islamic embroideries also were stitched on extremely fine linen,¹⁴⁷ and linen is not so "humble" as cotton supposedly is. But the question is again not the humbleness of cotton or the exquisiteness of linen. Such things are not dictated by religious, philosophical, or mystical notions, but by practical, technical and artistic reasons.

XI. TRANSFORMATION OF FORMS

A theory, developed by Massignon and Ettinghausen, views Islamic ornament as exhibiting a "sensation of contradiction and unreality, [which] manifests itself first in three unexpected transformations of one form into another: 1) of animal forms into flowers; 2) of animals into arabesques; and 3) of round geometric lines into straight ones, or vice versa."¹⁴⁸ But none of these is an inventive manifestation of Islamic art. I shall not discuss the third point, and shall only add a few words about the first and second, for the origin and diffusion of animal and bird figures combined with plants or arabesque interlacings is a subject well covered by the writings of B. Salin,¹⁴⁹ E. H. Minns,¹⁵⁰ J. Strzygowski,¹⁵¹ M. Rostovtzeff,¹⁵² and G. Borowka,¹⁵³ to mention only a few leading scholars.

Massignon¹⁵⁴ brought into this discussion a *hadith* according to which the cousin of the Prophet, Ibn 'Abbās, once advised a Persian artist to behead the animals, so that they would not look as if they were alive, and to make them resemble flowers. But as L. Bronstein¹⁵⁵ already pointed out, this *hadith* simply utilizes existing artistic practice, which must have been known to its inventor. One needs only to compare the eagle of the ninth-century plate found in Samarra, to which reference is made, with the ducks of the silver bowl in the British Museum, found in northwestern India and attributed to a period before the fifth century A.D.,¹⁵⁶ to realize that the artistic concept behind both is the same and expresses itself in an identical manner, namely, by transforming the bodies of the birds into "floral forms."¹⁵⁷

The second transformation is likewise not Islamic. The combination of animal protomes with interlacing ornamental devices is found in many examples in the arts of Asia and Northern Europe. This, however, is not the place to discuss the subject which requires a monographic study.¹⁵⁸ A reference to two examples only will suffice to demonstrate the point. I am intentionally

147. W. F. Volbach and E. Kühnel, *Late Antique-Coptic and Islamic Textiles of Egypt*, New York, 1926, p. viii, and C. J. Lamm, "Dated or Datable Tiraz in Sweden," *Le Monde Oriental*, xxxii, 1938, pp. 103f.

148. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

149. *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik*, Stockholm, 1904.

150. *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913.

151. *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, Leipzig, 1917.

152. *Iranian and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922.

153. *Scythian Art* [Kai Khosru Monographs on Eastern Art], New York, 1928.

154. L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Also C. J. Lamm, "The Spirit of Moslem Art," as in note 4, above.

155. "Some Historical Problems Raised by a Group of Iranian Islamic Potteries," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, v, 1938, p. 228, n. 9.

156. F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 114; K. V. Trever, *Monuments of Greco-Bactrian Art* (in Russian) Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, p. 89, refers to the bowl as "kushanian." About the combination of animals with floral motifs in the Scythian animal style, see M. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

157. Dr. Ettinghausen refers to another pottery plate in the Louvre on which a griffin has "the arabesque tail and the floral spray which seems to be a continuation of its beak" (p. 261). Animal tails ending in palmettes cannot be claimed to be Islamic. This motif is found on gold vessels of the Nagy-

Szent-Miklos Treasury, now definitely established as being of Pecheneg-Turkish origin, ninth century (for the problem of the origin, see J. Nemeth, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós, Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, 11, Budapest, 1932; for reproductions, E. H. Zimmermann, *Kunstgewerbe des frühen Mittelalters, Die Spätromische Kunst-Industrie*, 11, Vienna, 1923, pls. xxxiii, xlv-xlvii); on the Byzantine ivory panel, tenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (M. H. Longhurst, *Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory*, London, 1927, pl. xv); on a Coptic tapestry in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., sixth century (*Pagan and Christian Egypt. Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum*, 1941, p. 60, no. 177); on the sculptured decoration of Achtamar Church, tenth century (J. Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst*, Augsburg, 1930, fig. 351; on sculptures of the Romanesque period (J. Baltrušaitis, *La stylistique ornementale dans la sculpture romane*, Paris, 1931, figs. 208, 209, 213, 214, 435, 436, 899, and others; also R. Bernheimer, *Romanische Tierplastik und die Ursprünge ihrer Motive*, Munich, 1931, pls. x, 30; xvii, 54, and xl, 123); and on post-Sassanian metals of non-Islamic origin (as, the flute-player riding on a griffin, F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pl. 116, about A.D. 730).

158. N. P. Kondakov, in 1903, discussing the zoomorphic initials of Byzantine manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, observed that their artistic origin should be looked for in Central-Asian-Siberian antiquities. See N. P. Kondakov,

selecting one example from the Asiatic animal style and the other from European art. The first is a metal ornament found at Krasnokutsk, composed of two horses whose bodies are transformed into numerous volutes, leaving only protomes discernible.¹⁵⁹ A strikingly similar realization of decorative concept can be observed on the Tulunid wood carving in the Louvre, on which the body of a bird is likewise transformed into volutes. The second example, an interlacing from the illumination of the famous Carolingian *Psalterium aureum* (St. Gall, Codex 22), in which the protome of an animal has been utilized in a manner similar to the horse protomes in the Fatimid wood panel of the eleventh century in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁶⁰ It should be obvious that the combination of animal forms with palmettes or arabesque-interlacings was not evolved within Islamic art as the result of religious compulsion to avoid representations of realistic animals and birds. As a matter of fact, at the same time when animal-palmette combinations were decorating bowls and plates in Samarra, the walls of the palaces and private houses were adorned with frescoes of naturalistically drawn birds and animals.¹⁶¹ If there was a dictate of religious scruple governing the art of pottery painters, then why was it lacking among fresco painters?

XII. INDEFINITE PATTERN

The questions concerning the origin of all-over surface pattern, or that of interminable design, have been the subjects of frequent discussions since the publication of Riegl's *Stilfragen*.¹⁶² It must be admitted that neither of these two principles of decoration has anything to do with this or that religious notion. There is no need to repeat what has already been said by Strzygowski, whose writings are regrettably neglected by most students of Islamic art.¹⁶³ The interdiction of figural art in itself could not divert the people of Islam from creating "just one main pattern,"¹⁶⁴ and direct their fancy toward all-over surface design. Images were not forbidden by Buddhism, and the art of Chinese Turkestan made exaggerated use of figural art. Yet we witness there the same artistic manifestation as in Islamic art, namely, "making the pattern indefinite." A good illustrative example, out of many scores, is the fresco of the vaulted cell called "the sixteen sword bearers" in Ming-Oi near Qyzyl.¹⁶⁵ Here enthroned figures of Buddha with attendants are repeated in the same manner as the carved stucco wainscot in Samarra (Fig. 7). They differ from each other in motifs employed. In one case it is an abstract palmette device; in the other, a figure of Buddha; and there is also a difference in their compositions; but the artistic approach in both cases is identical, namely, covering the surface with repetitious pattern. A single, self-contained figure of Buddha could serve the religious intent. Instead, however, it has been repeated some seventy times and could be continued if the given surface permitted. Surface decoration in architecture is so widespread in Islamic art that it may appear to casual observers to be an invention within that particular artistic culture. The fact is, however, that architectural surface decoration with various geometrical or palmette devices existed in the Near East long before Islam. Here is what Herzfeld says in connection with the Arsacid architectural stucco carvings in Kuh-i Khwaja:

"Zoomorphic initials of Greek and 'glagolic' manuscripts of the X and XI centuries," *Society of the Friends of Ancient Palaeography*, CXXI (1903), p. vii (in Russian).

159. See N. Kondakov and J. Tolstoi, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, French translation by S. Reinach, Paris. E. Leroux, 1891, fig. 234 on p. 256. For the evolution of this particular style see A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Panmonion* (Ungarische Bibliothek, Erste Reihe, 12), Berlin-Leipzig, 1926, II, pp. 23f. Cf. also E. H. Minns, *op. cit.*, pp. 182f., fig. 77, no. 407, from Volkovtsy.

160. A. Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, etc., Leipzig, 1912, pl. XXXI, no. 2. The panel in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 11.205.2.

161. E. Herzfeld, *Malereien . . . Samarra*, pls. XII-XIV, birds, and pl. LXXXIV, above, lion and gazelle.

162. A. Riegl, *Stilfragen. Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1893.

163. *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, pp. 149f. and 272f., where we read about Islamic art: "Man erklärt ihre rein auf Schmuck und Dekoration eingestellte Richtung gern mit dem Bilderverbot oder weil sie eben semitisch sei. Aber diese Gründe sind von vornherein nicht stichhaltig; der letztere bedarf keiner Widerlegung und der erste wäre, wenn das Bilderverbot überhaupt bestanden hat, nur negativ gültig; ein solches Verbot verhindert zwar die Darstellung, schafft aber noch keine Kunstformen."

164. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 261. See also E. Kühnel, *op. cit.* (see note 5, above), p. 61.

165. A. Grünwedel, *Alt buddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Berlin, 1912, figs. 112-113, on p. 56.

"Similar to the Safavid art of the sixteenth century, unduly overrated, this early architecture is already focused on mere decoration: the surface."¹⁶⁶

The all-over surface pattern is primarily that of a textile design born out of material and technique, and there are indications that its application in architecture as well as minor arts was inspired largely by textile art.¹⁶⁷ A good illustration of such a textile design, although of late period, has been offered by Ettinghausen, in figure 13 of *The Arab Heritage*, reproducing a layout of a medallion rug on which "the quarter medallions in the four corners more or less imitate the centre medallion, indicating that the pattern could continue in all directions, if it had not been incidentally cut away by the framing border" (p. 262). Exactly the same system of all-over pattern of medallions has been painted on the vault of a Buddhistic cave temple in Bazaklik, Chinese Turkestan.¹⁶⁸

By offering examples of all-over surface patterns from Chinese Turkestan, I do not intend to intimate its introduction into Islamic art from that particular region. As testified by the remains of architectural surface decoration from Ctesiphon in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹⁶⁹ from Varamin in Staatliche Museen, Berlin,¹⁷⁰ and from Damghan in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,¹⁷¹ and others, it was very popular in the Sassanian period of Iran. As examples from the eastern Mediterranean countries and from the period before A.D. 622 the following may be cited: tympana from the monastery of St. Apollo at Bawit, Upper Egypt (now in Jāmi' 'Alī at Dashlut);¹⁷² church apses at the necropolis of al Bagawat, Egypt;¹⁷³ Coptic architectural sculpture now in Berlin,¹⁷⁴ and many others. Of course, all these all-over surface patterns referred to differ from the Islamic in their style, but the basic artistic thought underlying all of them, irrespective of the religion of the artists at work, is identical. Orientals, generally speaking, dislike empty surface.¹⁷⁵

XIII. "UNREALITY AND IMPERMANENCE"¹⁷⁶

"A sense of unreality and impermanence" has been cited as a particular feature of Islamic art, manifesting itself in "the use of materials such as plaster, brick, clay, wool." This is seen as "an indication of the consciousness that everything in this world, and certainly the artistic creations by the human hand, are of transitory character."¹⁷⁷

The reason for the employment of stucco in Islamic architecture has already been pointed out. The same can also be said about brick. Baked brick is a material which was used in architecture of certain Near Eastern countries centuries before the rise of Islam and continued to be used in Islamic periods. It should be strongly underlined, however, that brick was not a dominating structural material in all Islamic countries. The architecture of the Umayyad period in Syria,

166. E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, p. 74. Cf. also, E. Diez, *Iranische Kunst*, Vienna, 1944, p. 105.

167. The popularity of wainscot in Islamic architecture is well known, and it was on this section of the interior walls that the all-over surface pattern found its varied application in early centuries (Samarra, Nishapur). It is interesting to observe that in the mediaeval Arabic terminology, wainscot was called *izār*, which primarily means a garment covering the body from the waist down (R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, p. 19). With extreme caution, I would like to ask a question: Was the wainscot called *izār*—"skirt"—because it covered not only the lower section of the wall, but also because it was decorated with an all-over pattern like that of fabrics from which skirts were made?

168. S. F. Oldenburg, *Russian Turkestan Expedition of the year 1909-1910* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1914, pl. XLV. Also reproduced in H. Glück, "Türkische Dekorationskunst," *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, XXIII, 1920, fig. 6 on p. 4. For more examples of actual textile designs painted in the temples of Toyuk-Mazar, Tun-huang, and Bāzāklīk, see J. Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst*, figs. 156, 158-162, or, S. F. Oldenburg, *op. cit.*, pls. XVIII, XIX, XXXII, and XXXVIII.

169. J. M. Upton, "The expedition to Ctesiphon, 1931-1932," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXVII, no. 8, August 1932, pp. 188-197, figs. 5-10; and M. S. Dimand, "Parthian and Sasanian art," *op. cit.*, XXVIII, no. 4, April 1933, pp. 79-81, figs. 2-4.

170. F. Sarre, "Figurlicher und ornamentaler Wandschmuck spätsasanidischen Zeit," *Berliner Museen*, 1928.

171. "A Sasanian palace at Tepe Hissar" (unsigned), *Bulletin of the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, XXVII, no. 147, March 1932, p. 121, and illustrations facing pp. 121 and 123.

172. Emile Chassinat, *Fouilles à Bawit*, Cairo, 1911 (*Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Mémoires*, XIII).

173. W. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, St. Petersburg, 1901, pl. VII.

174. Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche Kunst*, Berlin, 1914-1918.

175. Cf. J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 156ff.

176. Part of this section has been omitted.—EDITOR.

177. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 262. Cf. also Massignon, *loc. cit.*

Palestine, and Transjordanian was essentially a stone architecture with a tradition reaching back to high antiquity, and employed brick in some cases only for upper structures, like vaults and domes. The Maghribian countries, including Spain and Sicily, were building with stone long before Islam, and continued to build with stone during the mediaeval centuries. The monuments of the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods in Egypt and Syria are of stone. So are the majority of Seljuq monuments of Asia Minor, Armenia, and the Caucasus. The same is also true of the Ottoman architecture and that of Islamic India.¹⁷⁸ Only in two countries of the entire Islamic world, namely, Mesopotamia and greater Iran, was brick used as the principal building material¹⁷⁹ and its history extends into pre-Islamic centuries.

The material used in architecture of this or that region is conditioned not by religious factors or fatalistic notions but by natural resources, economic possibilities, and technical traditions. The communities of North European countries built their houses of worship in wood, and the cities of southern Europe used stone, instead, but all of them are Christian.

One may agree, or disagree, with the view expressed by Herzfeld that baked brick "is no material to create high architectural art," and that the Tāq-i Kisra is "a monument of artistic dishonesty."¹⁸⁰ The fact remains, however, that the Sassanian palace at Ctesiphon with its enormous vaulted arch (75 feet wide, 150 feet deep, and 90 feet high), the great mosque at Samarra with its 250,000 qm. area, and the masterpiece of Byzantine architecture—the dome of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople—all brick constructions, are among the most audacious achievements in the history of architecture and are far from being expressions of "impermanency."

Lamm has expressed the opinion that "the effect of religion on art was not direct but indirect [and that] it emanated not from positive but negative commandments."¹⁸¹ The same opinion has been expressed by Ettinghausen, who, however, admits that there is one manifestation of art which was not born out of a prohibition, "which has positive qualities, and can therefore be truly called an Islamic art, [namely] the various styles of Arabic writing."¹⁸² But this statement implies that everything else has negative qualities, which would be, indeed, an unjustifiable assumption. In such views the leading idea is that Islamic art is the outcome of this or that religious precept. But spiritual expressions, be they of an individual or of a society or of races unified by faith, are conditioned by manifold causes. Admitting the formative influences of religion upon the thoughts or feelings of individuals or groups, it should not be overlooked that in every century and society, Islamic or otherwise, there were other, no less forceful, influential factors—economic, political, social, and so forth. In particular, it is regrettable that no all-embracing monographic study of the economic development of the Islamic Near East has yet been undertaken, for this subject is also of great importance for the understanding of Islamic art.¹⁸³ But absence of a reference book does

178. Consult K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman. L'architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*, Paris, 1926-1927; L. Hauteceur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932; R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge, 1931; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris, 1931-1934; W. Bachman, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig, 1913; H. Wilde, *Brussa*, Berlin, 1909; C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin, 1912; F. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser*, Leipzig, 1918; and O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin, 1924. See also O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 75.

179. For brick architecture, see F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1911; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1910; C. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, and L. Cohn-Wiener, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*,

Berlin, 1930. I am not considering the short-lived architecture in Fustat and some brick construction of the Seljuqs in Anatolia. In each instance, these were under either Mesopotamian or Iranian influence. See the pertinent observation of Halil Edhem, "Einige Islamische Denkmäler Kleinasien," in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens. Josef Strzygowski zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, Vienna and Hellenan, 1923, p. 244.

180. E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 74, 95.

181. C. J. Lamm, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

182. Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 263. [Cf. also A. H. Christie, "Islamic minor arts and their influence upon European work," *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931, p. 113: "Arabic script, the sole Arab contribution to Islamic art."]

183. Some very useful material can be found in: Fr. Stüwe, *Handelszüge der Araber*, Berlin, 1836; A. Schaub, *Handels-geschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis*

not justify our neglect of the economic foundation of arts and crafts in Islamic countries.¹⁸⁴

The critical observations on the foregoing pages are aimed at provoking further discussions and elucidations of the many problems concerning the character of Islamic art.

1896-1949

zum Ende der Kreuzzüge, Munich, 1906; A. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig, 1923; J. de Goeje, "Internationaal Handelsverkeer in de Middeleeuwen," *K. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, H. Reeks, Deel 1x; C. H. Becker, "Ägypten im Mittelalter," in *Islamstudien*, pp. 179f.; and J. H. Kramers, "Geography and Commerce,"

in *The Legacy of Islam*, pp. 79ff., 106-107 (bibliography).

184. The sentences in this paragraph are taken from two short sections, "Single Positive Quality" and "Economic Factors," otherwise omitted here, and are printed to indicate the directions in which the author intended to develop the final pages of his study.—EDITOR.



1. *Madonna of the Eucharist*. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum



2. *Adoration of the Magi*. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)



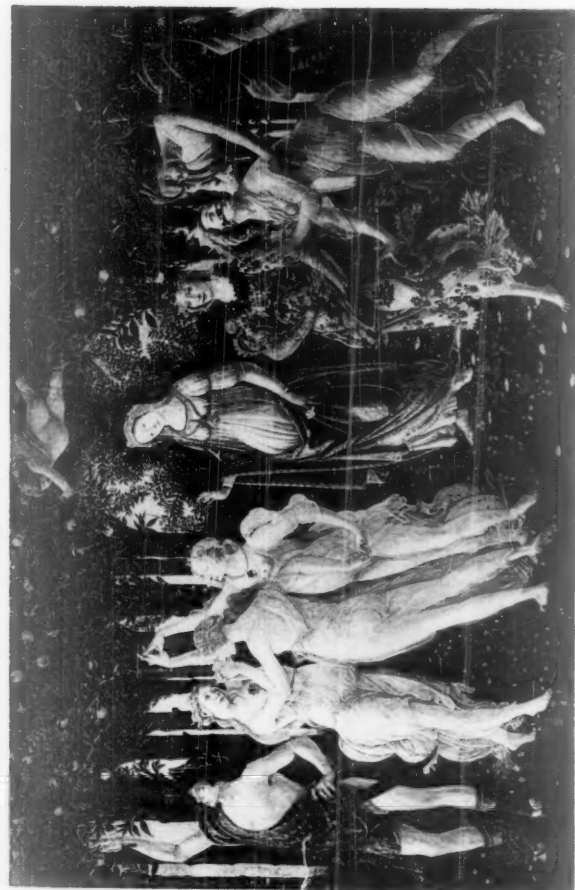
3. *Annunciation*. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)



4. *St. Augustine*. Florence, Ognissanti (photo: Alinari)



5. *The Birth of Venus*, Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)



6. *La Primavera*, Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)



7. *Giovanna degli Albizzi and the Graces*, Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)



8. *Judith*, Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)

BOTTICELLI AS A COLORIST

N. ALLEN PATTILLO, JR.

EXCELLENCE of color is not among the qualities for which Florentine painting is generally known. However, during the two centuries from Giotto to Michelangelo Florence produced a far from negligible number of fine colorists. Perhaps the great and obvious concern of the fifteenth century Florentine painter for the convincing representation of form and space—though rightly stressed by critics and historians—has blunted the attention given to other aspects of his art. Possibly the low esteem in which the color of this school is held may stem in part from the strong influence of such a notable critic as Berenson.¹ Perhaps a much earlier writer must share the responsibility, Leonardo da Vinci, whose thoughts about art are better known than those of any other Florentine of the time. For time and again Leonardo mentions the importance of relief. It seemed to him a marvelous thing, as it must have seemed to many others, that painting "can make a thing stand out in relief and appear detached from the wall when in fact it is not."² Leonardo's disparaging remarks about good colorists may have helped, moreover, to establish a false conception of his own attitude; for his does not remain unchanged from part to part of the *Trattato*.

One of the finest of Florentine colorists has been one of the least appreciated. There are certain artists of the city on the Arno who have been singled out now and then for the distinction of their color, Fra Filippo sometimes, Andrea del Sarto more often; but Botticelli does not receive like praise. Over fifty years ago Berenson said of him that he was "seldom satisfactory in color."³ And in more recent years, despite the efforts of Yashiro to raise the common estimate of this aspect of his art, even a specialist in color such as Theodor Hetzer has found only harsh words for Sandro's colors.⁴ It is hardly with approval of the practice of the sharp separation of hues that his works are called an extreme example. Hetzer's severity, however, goes far beyond this critical mention of sharply separated colors. "Crude and glassily glittering" Botticelli's colors are called.⁵ In them is seen the rejection of harmony and of unity. The painter is viewed as wounding the eye. Strangely, for all of this the Uffizi *Annunciation* alone is offered as evidence.

These sharpest shafts of criticism may well be considered later with the painting which called them into use. The distaste for sharp boundaries between color and color, however, is a feeling widely shared. Even Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who find words of praise for Florentine color, appear to see in dimmed outlines and gradual transitions from hue to hue a principal criterion of excellence. In reply to this seemingly common view it has been wisely said that color is color whether used in the manner of the great Venetians of the sixteenth century and of the painters of the North who continued their tradition, or confined within sharp outlines.⁶

1. Bernard Berenson, *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, 2d ed., New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911, p. 1.

2. "Solo la pittura si rende* (*cosa marauigliosa) alli contemplatori di quella per fare parere rileuato e spichato dalli muri quel, ch'è nulla, e li colori fanno onore alli maestri che li fanno, perchè in loro non si causa altra marauiglia che bellezza, la quale bellezza non è uirtu del pittore, ma di quello, che gli ha generati e puo una cosa esser uestita di brutti colori e dar di se marauiglia alli suoi contemplanti pel parere di rileuo." Leonardo da Vinci, *Das Buch von der Malerei, nach dem Codex Vaticanus (Urbins)*, 1270, ed. Heinrich Ludwig, Vienna, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1882, 1, p. 172. This passage is quoted from the *Trattato della Pittura* (ed. Borzelli, p. 120), by Lionello Venturi in *La critica e l'arte di Leonardo da Vinci*, Bologna, Nicola Zanichelli, 1919, pp. 55-56.

3. Bernard Berenson, *The Florentine Painters of the Ren-*

aissance, 2d ed., New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902, p. 69.

4. Theodor Hetzer, *Tizian, Geschichte seiner Farbe*, 2d ed., Frankfurt am Main, Vittorio Klostermann, 1948, p. 53. Yashiro writes of Botticelli, "The greatest injustice is still being done him as a colourist. . . . So far as I know, critics were for once united as regards Botticelli, and that is, in depreciating him as a colourist. . . . I feel, however, that Botticelli presented the same rare genius in colour as in line, though he was more devoted to the latter." Yukio Yashiro, *Sandro Botticelli*, London and Boston, The Medici Society, 1925, 1, p. 205. Yashiro does not undertake a detailed analysis of Botticelli's colors such as is attempted here.

5. *op. cit.*, p. 53.

6. Giovanni Colacicchi, *Antonio Pollaiuolo*, Florence, Chessa, 1943, pp. xviii.

Is the question of fine or poor color after all merely a question of indisputable taste? Are one's estimates blind preferences only, no more to be explained than one person's special fondness for green and another's for blue? Some there may be who cannot be induced to like the color of a particular painter, a Botticelli or a Tintoretto, a Rubens or a Delacroix. Much more numerous, it may be supposed, are those whose liking will be greatly stimulated by the discovery of order, by the recognition of thoughtful relationships of color to color, and of color to other elements of a painting. Of these Botticelli's works afford an abundant store.

It is not possible here to examine a large number of his paintings, for each requires analysis in some detail if the true nature of its color is to be made evident.⁷ The eight paintings chosen will be a sufficient sample, doubtless, to reveal the quality of the artist as a colorist. They include some which for their color as well as for more familiar features must be numbered among the painter's finest works. They cover the full two decades of his greatest activity, but not the work of his latest years. Small as the list is, there has been included one highly controversial work, whose color some of the most distinguished critics would not attribute to Botticelli. The Uffizi *Annunciation*, however, is too striking a work, a work too unusual in color to omit, if that color may be connected with Botticelli; and despite the high authority which would deny it, it is difficult to avoid so connecting it.

One might expect to find that, in addition to the already-mentioned sharp outlines and the sharp separation of colors which goes with them, there are various features of Botticelli's color compositions in which he follows the practices of his most distinguished central Italian predecessors as far back as the time of Giotto. This he certainly does. An analysis of many hundreds of Italian paintings, an analysis such as here is limited to eight paintings, one including most of Botticelli's own along with a large part of the more important panels and frescoes from the time of Cimabue and Giotto through the sixteenth century, in Italy itself, in western and central Europe, and in this country, leads to several significant, if by no means startling, conclusions. It is not, perhaps, without mild surprise that one discovers how general was the feeling for color composition. With great regularity, whether in solemn, symmetrical altarpieces, or in more informal paintings, in the more intimate Madonnas, or narrative scenes, an excellent balance of attraction is established, and not only between that part of the painting which lies on one side of the vertical axis and that on the other, but between the upper and lower halves of the painting as well. It is a balance, however, not of color alone, but of the numerous and diverse elements of the painting. Hues, intensities, values, forms, movement, directional impulses, subject interest, all play a part. In the symmetrical work, color at times, as in Masaccio's *Trinity*, may be seen as merely supplementing the balance established by the other elements, not altering, but confirming it. At other times all elements are interdependent. Without all, the desired balance is not established.⁸ Thus it is often

7. Knowledge of color composition in the Italian Renaissance, or in other periods, must be based chiefly, it would appear, upon a large number of analyses made and recorded in front of the paintings themselves. Memory appears to be a peculiarly unreliable servant in the realm of color. It is somewhat surprising to observe how frequently obvious errors creep into printed remarks on the colors of particular paintings, errors, one must suppose, due to reliance upon memory.

There are, of course, very real difficulties encountered by anyone who attempts to analyze the color compositions of a large number of old paintings. Some panels painted in tempera in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and recently cleaned, must look almost as they did when they were first painted. Others are dirty, or perhaps modified in color by an overlay of brownish varnish. One must learn to see such works as they would be without such modification, to see the blues, for example, less greenish. (Cf. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses*, London, Seeley and Co., 1905, p. 26.) One is assisted in acquiring some ability to see the fresh, original tones through

the less fresh ones before him by the opportunity of seeing similar cleaned and uncleaned paintings in close proximity to each other, as one can see the cleaned and uncleaned panels of Duccio's *Maestà*, in the Cathedral Museum, in Siena. At present such a comparison is possible for Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, where the process of cleaning is in progress (1953). Often pigments have undergone chemical change, and darkened permanently, especially the ultramarine of the Virgin's mantle. Of this change one learns to a degree to take account. A much more serious difficulty arises from the fact that so many works have undergone more or less extensive repainting. As for these, it seems not unreasonable to assume that, in general, the restorers have attempted, at least, to restore the original colors as closely as they could. But the fact that not all restorations have been such faithful ones must lead one to expect to be deceived from time to time about the nature of the original color.

8. What probably must be considered a contrary view is expressed by Mrs. Kennedy when she says that "Few painters

more correct to speak of composition than of color composition, a composition of which color is a part. There is an important exception, however, to this general tendency to employ colors as a part of a balanced composition: the altarpiece made up of several panels. So far as color is concerned, each main panel of a polyptych, and each predella panel, appears to be created as a largely independent work; and the balance of attraction is not regularly established for the polyptych as a whole.

It would be possible, no doubt, to think of certain of these Italian paintings as conceived in triads of hues. Perhaps one or two of Botticelli's would suggest this as strongly as any; but the cumulative evidence of a great number of paintings of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries appears to be that the pattern of colors was almost always conceived in pairs of hues. Not until late in the period, when paintings of warm hues alone appear with increasing frequency, do other schemes become important. Of these pairs of hues unquestionably the most important, the one most frequently dominant, was that of blue with orange or yellow-orange, with which may be included gold. Perhaps it was the most important because one or the other of the hues was so naturally employed as a background color, blue for the sky or the abstract background of frescoes, gold for the sky or other background of panels in the fourteenth century, and, as the fifteenth century advanced, blue in both wall paintings and panels. Second in importance was the combination of blue and red. Blue, in Florentine art, with relatively few exceptions, was the color of the Virgin's outer garment, or mantle, red of the tunic worn beneath it. In third rank, but playing a much smaller part than these pairs, are red and green. Violet and yellow, a third pair of pigment complementaries, is to be found at times, and in the early sixteenth century, on the vault of the Sistine Chapel, it plays an important role; but this, and all other pairs than the three first named, have a very minor place in Florentine painting as a whole.⁹

That three of the pairs just mentioned, and two of the important ones, are pigment complementaries is doubtless of no real significance. There is no ground for supposing that blue and orange was a favored combination, or red and green, because these pairs might be mixed to give neutral or nearly neutral tones. Red and blue, moreover, second in importance only to blue and orange, are not pigment complementaries. Nor does it appear that any symbolism was a compelling factor in the choice of colors of the Virgin's robes, where blue and red are so often used. Though the Florentines of the fourteenth century had little of the Sienese inclination to clothe their Madonnas in gorgeous brocades, they, too, departed at will from the usual color scheme, as in Giotto's Madonna for the Church of Ognissanti. Nor was the popularity of red with blue shown in the Virgin's garments alone. If Florentine painters, or any other painters of the late middle ages or the Renaissance, employed certain combinations in preference to others they must have done so largely because certain outstanding spirits among them found these combinations for some reason, or perhaps for no reason clearly explicable, pleasing combinations. Lesser men doubtless used them because it was to them that they were accustomed by their masters and by the finer paintings with which they were familiar.

In the first of Botticelli's paintings to be examined here, the *Madonna of the Eucharist* (Fig. 1), in the Gardner Museum, in Boston, both the composition and the choice of hues are in accord with established Florentine practice.¹⁰ There is no such distribution of intensities and values as to

of Baldovinetti's generation did realize the possibility of designing the whole picture in terms of color, and like him they were contented with lovely juxtapositions of hue in the several parts of the whole." Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, p. 49.

9. Leonardo mentions "I colori che si conuengano insieme, cioè il uerde col rosso o'paghonazzo o'biffa, e il giallo col azuro." *Das Buch von der Malerei*, ed. Ludwig, Section 253, p. 274.

10. We have not yet reached the time when the colors of paintings can be expected to be reproduced accurately in books. Nevertheless some may find the generally available colored reproductions of these Botticelli paintings an assistance in following what is written here. Six of the eight paintings discussed are reproduced in the Phaidon *Botticelli*. For the *Madonna of the Eucharist* in color, see Fiske Kimball, and Lionello Venturi, *Great Paintings in America*, New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 1948, pl. 17. In this reproduction,

establish a purely tonal balance. The greater part of the more intense color is to the right of the vertical axis. Only near the bottom of the painting, where the Virgin's blue mantle reaches far to the left, and at the top, where the much weaker blue of the upper sky extends from side to side, is this not so. As for interest of subject, moreover, both Mother and Child are almost wholly to the right of the axis. Nevertheless the composition has not the effect of something one-sided. Three principal means Botticelli employed to achieve this satisfactory balance. One is that of confining the landscape entirely to the other half of the painting. There alone the eye is free to look into the distance. A second device is the multiplication on the left side of details to attract the eye. Of these the most important are the grapes and the ears of grain; but the leafy garland which wreathes the angel's head, the multiplied curls of the hair, and the multiplied folds of the garment have their lesser drawing power. The third factor, possibly the most important of the three, is the direction of the whole attention of Virgin and Child to the sacred elements. The Madonna, indeed, grasps an ear of grain between her thumb and forefinger; and the right hand of the infant Jesus is held up in blessing of the elements of the eucharist. Although he is placed so largely to the right of the axis his whole body points to the lower left, near the lovingly painted grapes.

Since the Child is almost wholly below the mid-point of the painting, since the elements of the eucharist are so near the bottom, and since the attention of all three figures is directed downward, there is adequate balance below for the heads of the Madonna and the angel in the upper part, for the landscape, for the unexplained architectural framework with its strong contrast of values close beside the Virgin's neck. Between the Child, however, and the lower right corner, there is an area largely of neutralized shadow, while near the opposite corner, below the grapes, are various elements directing the eye to the corner itself, the foot of the Child, a bit of the Virgin's blue mantle, the scarf which falls from the angel's wrist. Thus it is that Botticelli on the right, at the very bottom, has uncovered a spot of somewhat uncertain identity, which is of almost startling intensity. A small area it is, not as large as the hand of the Child, but the intensity of its red-orange is approached by no other area in the panel. An unusual boldness it is which resorts to such striking means.

The principal combinations of hue in the painting are those most frequently found in Florentine paintings of its time. In the mantle and tunic of the Virgin are the blue and red, with the blue giving way on the lightened ridges to extremely neutralized yellow. For the sometimes overstressed realism of Florentine painters of the Renaissance did not extend to the variation of intensity from light to shadow. As in the century before, and even in centuries to follow, to the North as well as in Italy, half-lights or shadows might be painted in greater intensity than the lights. The red of this tunic's tubular folds (which so strongly recall Fra Angelico's) is almost everywhere separated from the mantle's blue by a border of brown, or neutralized dark orange, and yellow-orange, and yellow, a border which at the shoulders widens to a broad collar. On the left side of the panel there is little but blue and red-orange to yellow hues, but they are colors almost everywhere very subdued. The garment of the angel, with the exception of the blue collar, trimmed with gold, is of varied light and much neutralized tones, chiefly yellow, but ranging to red-orange, all of which tells as relative white. The grapes are a darker, neutral orange, the ears of wheat more yellowish but of equally limited intensity. The sky is blue in the zones nearest the zenith, a very neutral blue to be sure, and a little dirty now; but like the actual sky on sunny days, as it approaches the horizon, it modulates to a lighter and faintly warm tone, here an extremely neutralized orange. This modulation of the hue of the sky, appearing in Florence as early as the decade of the 1430's,¹¹ and employed thereafter with increasing frequency, was an

however, the red dress of the Virgin, by its too great intensity, than it is in fact.
makes the small scarlet area at the bottom appear less striking

11. One of a number of examples from this decade is the

almost regular feature in Florentine painting by the time that Botticelli reached manhood.

If the modulation of the hue of the sky is an example of Florentine realism, the colors of the landscape beneath may be regarded as an example of a quite nonrealistic tendency, which aims more at a pleasing balance of color than at the repetition of the colors of nature. For beside and beyond the so nearly neutral water of the river, shore, and hills, and trees are orange, the hills a more subdued and more yellow orange than the rest, with the merest suggestion of green on top. Some of the most trustworthy and acute students of Florentine painting have seen in the brown landscapes and brown trees something other than the intention of the artists.¹² But the suggestion that the brown is the result of the chemical change of once green pigments the visual evidence of the paintings themselves makes it often difficult to accept, however hesitant one ignorant of pigments may be not to accept the opinion of experts. There are Florentine paintings in great number, surely, where the greens are still green. Among the works of Botticelli are numerous examples. For another brown landscape we may look backward to Fra Angelico, to the predella panel of the *Visitation* beneath that *Annunciation* which is the gem of Cortona's little museum. In the main panel of the altarpiece the grass of the Virgin's garden and the shrubs which border it are still of clear green. Doubtless no one would suggest that the orange hill of the *Visitation* is oxidized green. Nor need it be assumed that the hill of Cortona itself, clearly the painter's inspiration here, was painted in warm tones, with just a clump of green trees beyond the wall, because it was barren always, or parched by the summer's drought. Rather the artist must have wanted to contrast the warm orange tones of hills and dwelling with the blue of sky and lake, and with the blues of the ladies' garments, insufficiently matched by reds and pinks. A more significant example of the brown landscape is provided by Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Rape of Deianira*, in the Jarves Collection, at Yale University. The painting was executed almost wholly in blue, and green, and orange tones. The trees bordering the distant bends of the river are a deep orange, not greatly neutralized. Between these enclosing bands of brown are fields of neutralized green. It is not easy to believe that the green of the trees has changed to brown, while that of the fields has remained green. Pollaiuolo must have wanted the play of warm and cool tones which still exists, that of orange and green, and more important than this, that of the orange and blue so often paired.

Hetzer calls attention to the warm-colored foilage of one of the trees in Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* and points out that it is so colored for reasons of composition;¹³ but, forgetting the brown trees in numerous works of the preceding generation, he writes that in the fifteenth century color was treated as a property of things instead.

One is again reminded how little color was sometimes regarded as a property of things in this realistic sense by one of the loveliest passages of hue in the *Madonna of the Eucharist*, that of the drapery wrapped around the Child. It varies from violet to blue, to yellow-orange and yellow, but the dominant hue is blue-violet. The contrast of this with the adjacent flesh tones, which are chiefly yellow, though with no small admixture of reddish hue, is especially fine.

Giotto had employed violet tones in the Arena Chapel, or had had his assistants use them, notably in the *Crucifixion* and in the *Lamentation over the Body of Christ*. And Botticelli, although he never went to Padua, must often have seen violets used with equal taste in a still earlier masterpiece, close to his own home and shop, Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna*. The use of violet, nevertheless,

predella panel of the *Visitation*, a part of the altarpiece of the *Annunciation*, in the Museo Diocesano, in Cortona. The sky, a fairly intense blue at the top, becomes very light and very neutral near the horizon. Possibly it was Masaccio, a decade earlier, who in Italian painting inaugurated the practice of making the sky light and warm at the horizon. The little *Adoration of the Magi*, from Berlin, shows no gradual modulation of tone. The sky is nowhere more than half an

inch wide. But between this narrow band of gray-blue and that of deeper blue mountains is a bit of very light and slightly warm tone.

12. See Ruth Wedgwood Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 123. See also Daniel V. Thompson, *The Materials of Medieval Painting*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936, pp. 165-166.

13. *Tizian*, p. 104.

had not been usual in central Italian painting. Botticelli's own use of it in this early painting may be viewed almost as a forecast of the freedom and variety of his color in works to follow; but nothing else in this early Madonna speaks so strongly of his individuality as a colorist as that small area of startlingly bright scarlet next to the bottom frame.

As simple and satisfying a color composition as is to be found among Sandro's earliest works is the small painting of *Judith* (Fig. 8), which hangs in the Uffizi beside the companion piece of the headless *Holofernes*. It is instantly felt as a composition in orange, and yellow-orange, and blue. It is not, indeed, wholly of these hues. There is in the landscape an extensive area of green, but it is a green so neutralized, even relative to the neutralized blues, that it is completely subordinated to the two more important hues. In using as the three hues a complementary pair and one intermediate between them Botticelli restricted his range almost to a half of the color circle. Probably it is a restriction which he had seldom if ever seen in the works of others. There is approximately the same restriction in the painting by Pollaiuolo just discussed, but this was probably painted a few years later than the *Judith*. Even the early Trecento, it is true, affords a few examples of panels of single saints, St. John the Baptist especially, which are wholly warm, but possibly such panels were in the beginning parts of polyptychs. Already, too, when Botticelli was painting his earliest works, Antonello da Messina in the south was painting wholly in warm color his portraits with abstract backgrounds. And Leonardo, within three or four years of the time of the painting of the *Judith*, was to go farther than Botticelli. In the supposed *Ginevra de' Benci*, of Prince Liechtenstein's collection, a portrait with a landscape background, and in the Munich *Madonna*, with its Alpine background seen through the arches at the right and left, the colors, apart from the merest touch of pink in the yellow flesh tones, are confined wholly to blues, and orange, and yellow.

In the distribution of the few hues within the *Judith* Botticelli, as he was to do in subsequent works, takes account of the importance of movement for color composition. Judith herself, clothed in the fair raiment in which she had charmed the great captain of the Assyrian army, whose head her maid now carries, is placed upon the axis of the painting, centered only a little to the right of it. The dress is blue from neck to ankles, but covered by an almost transparent overdress of yellowish and orange white. Subdued as is this blue, it is less subdued than the blue of the sky, whose upper tones, in the now usual way, modulate to a lighter and more neutralized yellow towards the horizon. The hues which are obviously contrasted with Judith's dress are the oranges and yellows of the servant's garments. Yellow-orange to orange it is in the shadows, yellow in the lights. The whitish undergarment is in reality of the faintest blue. Similarly the yellow flesh tones and hair of Judith contrast with the blue of her dress. Although Judith is so near the center of the painting and the servant bearing the head so far to the left, the composition is by no means unbalanced. For there is brisk movement to the right, reinforced by the pointing of Judith's sword in the direction which she follows, and by the holding of the olive branch before her. Thus the slender tree trunk close to the edge of the panel is quite enough, however much neutralized its orange hue, to give adequate weight to this side of the painting. By its rigidity, moreover, this trunk checks the movement before it proceeds beyond the bounds of the scene.

Turning from these works of the early 1470's to the last years of the decade, we reach three masterpieces in which Botticelli reveals himself more surely than before a gifted and inventive colorist. These three are the *Primavera*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, painted by order of Giovanni Lami for Santa Maria Novella, but now with the *Primavera* in the Uffizi, and the fresco of *St. Augustine*, in the Church of Ognissanti.

Of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 2), Vasari, nearly ninety years later, wrote that it was "in colouring, drawing, and composition so beautifully concluded, that every craftsman remains

to-day astonished at it."¹⁴ And Horne adds that this *Adoration*, "more often than any other early work by Botticelli, recalls the peculiar beauty and gaiety of Fra Filippo's colour,"¹⁵ despite damage by "scrubbing" and darkening from successive coats of varnish. Beautiful it is in color, and gay, but such gaiety is seldom found in the paintings of Botticelli's master, Fra Filippo.¹⁶ The gaiety which Horne observes in the *Adoration* is in large measure due to the intense orange-red of the second king's mantle, in the middle of the foreground. Not only does it reach almost the limit of intensity ever found in the scarlet of Renaissance paintings, but this penetrating redness is sharpened further by the whiteness (a yellowish whiteness) of the ermine border which hangs from the left shoulder and which edges the scarlet on the right. In the whole painting there is no larger spread of drapery than this mantle. And nowhere else is there comparable strength of hue except in other scarlets, seen in small bits in the group on the left, as in the tights of the youth who leans upon him who must rightly have been identified as the young Lorenzo the Magnificent.¹⁷ Elsewhere the more intense tones, though weaker by far than these, are likewise reds, but reds without orange. These are juxtaposed chiefly with blue. There is the red tunic of the Virgin against the fairly light blue of her outer robe. There is the red cape of the youth who bends low on the right, with the blue garment, gold-embroidered, beneath it. The duller red doublet of Lorenzo, trimmed with a more obscure blue, has likewise blue sleeves. Orange and orange-yellow, in the usual scheme of Florentine artists of the time, are also paired chiefly with blue. The orange-yellow robe of the youth at the far right is juxtaposed with blue for a large part of its length. The light blue mantle worn by the foremost figure of the retinue on the left is seen through a somewhat lesser part of its length against the richly gold-embroidered, and thus chiefly orange-yellow robe of the kneeling Cosimo. Joseph, moreover, is clothed, as the Florentines were most inclined to clothe him, in orange and blue, a much neutralized orange mantle here over a blue tunic. And it is chiefly neutralized orange ruins which one sees against the faint blue of the sky. That relatively infrequent and unimportant combination of violet and yellow finds a very modest place, too, at the far right where, close to the face of the youth who gazes to the front, is a bit of mantle which appears violet in shadow, and beside it a yellow collar and hat. There is no very striking or even very obvious contrasting of red and green in the painting

14. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, scultori, ed architettori*, 2d ed., Florence, 1568, I, p. 472. Quoted by Horne, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. (In the Milanese edition, G. C. Sansoni, Florence, 1906, III, p. 316.)

15. Horne, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

16. One example is the *Saints Benedict, Maurus, and Placidus*, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

17. This painting, which sometimes has been dated 1477, was probably painted in 1478, soon after the Pazzi Conspiracy. Yashiro would place it then because he sees in it the influence of Andrea del Castagno and assumes, not unreasonably, that Botticelli, in carrying out the commission to paint on the Bargello walls the hanging conspirators, would have studied closely the famous hanging figures of the later Albizzi Conspiracy, painted by Andrea. (*op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, 31-33) A strong influence of Andrea on the *Adoration*, however, is questionable. Yashiro points out that the discovery that the painting was ordered by Giovanni Lami renders untenable "the former supposition that it was dedicated by the Medici as a thanksgiving." (*ibid.*, p. 33) But thanksgiving need not be rejected as a part of the motive. It may not be wholly fanciful to suppose that Lami, a Florentine citizen otherwise unknown to us, in ordering the inclusion of Medici portraits in the altarpiece, was not trying to ingratiate himself with the family in a way which he might have seized in any year, but that there was special reason for honoring them at this time. The painting may well have been, in appearance at least, a kind of thanksgiving for the fact that the Pazzi Conspiracy did not achieve its end, and that in Lorenzo the rule of the Medici

continued. If this supposition is correct, Lorenzo would not be omitted. It must be he at the left, standing apart from the no longer living members of his family, his hands crossed upon the hilt of his sword, his head held high, as if to emphasize his victory. What possible meaning, moreover, could the youth leaning on his shoulder have, if he is not a close friend, almost overcome by the narrowness of the escape? And what friend is more probable than Politian, one of the closest friends, and one of those who aided Lorenzo's escape from the intended assassin to safety behind the bronze doors of the sacristy? (See E. Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici*, New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896, p. 131; or Umberto Dorini, *Lorenzo il Magnifico*, Florence, Vallecchi, 1949, p. 76.) Certainly it is not an incisive portrait of Lorenzo which Botticelli has painted here, nor of Politian, if the other youth is indeed he. It is an idealized portrait of Lorenzo, in which, doubtless by intention, he is represented as nearly of the age which was his when his father, Piero, was still alive. It possesses a vague likeness to the doubtless faithful, or only moderately idealized, portrait painted by Ghirlandaio five or six years later in Santa Trinità. It surely must have been enough for the Florentine public to understand. The young king in white must be the mourned Giuliano, in converse with his father. His face bears no resemblance to the supposed portraits of Giuliano, but is that instead of a wholly idealized youth. It closely resembles that of the younger boy of the *Madonna of the Magnificat*, perhaps not without reason associated also with Giuliano.

but the ground both in front of and beyond Piero de' Medici's scarlet mantle is green, a very dull green indeed, and in large part not a little darker than the scarlet mantle.

Piero's brilliant garment and the softer-toned figure of the Virgin above almost establish the vertical axis, yet it is easily seen that they are centered slightly to the right of a median line, but so little to the right—for it crosses the face of the Virgin—that a Joseph in equally colorful array, or a Cosimo resplendent in bright hues, would have upset the subtle balance.

In the great allegory of Spring (Fig. 6) with which, late in the decade, Botticelli fulfilled the commission of a mere youth, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, for the decoration of his newly-acquired villa, the long-famed mastery of line finds fit partner in masterly distribution of color.¹⁸

Horne likens the color scheme of this earliest of the painter's classical themes to that of other large panels of the decade, the *Fortitude*, in the Uffizi, and the *St. Sebastian*, of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum's collection. For all three he writes that Botticelli "adopted a color-scheme of the simplest character, which differs greatly from that of his smaller panels."¹⁹ In these, he adds, the painter "designedly avoids the richly variegated colouring of his smaller paintings: the brilliant azure, the varied cherry purples and vermillions, the golden olive greens, with which he colours those intricate compositions."²⁰ Some justification there may be if he thinks of the 1470's and considers the *Adoration of the Magi* one of the smaller panels. But, although its major dimension falls short of those of the *St. Sebastian* and the *Fortitude*, in area it comes between them. As for such a difference of color from some of the really smaller panels of its decade, it is more imagined, surely, than real. Neither the *Primavera* nor the *Fortitude* can equal or nearly equal in simplicity of color-scheme the little panel of *Judith*.

The *Primavera* is not in color or in other components a composition which closely approaches symmetry, but there is a remarkable balance of its varied elements. Near the center and at the two ends are the areas of strongest hue. That of highest intensity, moderate though it is, is the mantle hanging from the right shoulder of Venus and held up in front by the opposite hand. There is a second area of red at the far left, partially covering the sinewy form of Mercury. But a little darker it is, a little weaker, too, and in spots a slightly purplish red. The third of these relatively colorful areas of some size is the flying figure of Zephyr at the right, who bends the trees in his path as he pursues the fleeing form of Spring. His swirling drapery, his hair and wings, and even much of his body itself are of bluish green. The drapery is not, certainly, so grayed as to make the color obscure. Perhaps as a whole it is little more than half neutralized, and from low dark shadows it rises to lights above middle.²¹ Nevertheless the strength of this color is not a match for that of Mercury at the opposite end. The body is lighter than the drapery, and, where green, of a much grayer green, but it includes, too, large touches of red-orange, the pigment complementary of the blue-green.

Venus, queen of this woodland court of love, embowered in a sylvan arch, and raised above the figures of her court, is clearly the central figure of the court even if no other is aware of her, even if she is not at the center of the scene, even if there are only three figures to the right of her, against the four upon the left. In color, too, she is the central figure of the scene, quite aside from the presence in her outer robe of the most intense of all areas of the painting. For in the red of the mantle and the blue and blue-green beside it she unites approximately the colors of the two

18. The painting is most frequently dated, on the basis of internal evidence, in the year 1478; but there is no convincing reason for thinking that it might not have been painted as late as 1480.

19. Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

20. *ibid.*, p. 62.

21. The scale of values, or lights and darks, employed here, one of nine steps, including the extremes, white and black, is familiar to those who have been in the classes of Professor

Arthur Pope, of Harvard, or who have read *The Language of Drawing and Painting* by him (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1949). It was Professor Pope who aroused my own interest in color. To avoid intolerable monotony I have, as a rule, refrained from indicating colors with the degree of precision with which it is possible to indicate them by using such a scheme as that found in *The Language of Drawing and Painting*.

extremes,²² with the small area of blue, moreover, on the side of Mercury's red, and the large one of red towards the greenish blue of Zephyr.²³

The robes of Venus include not only the most intense area of the painting, but in the thin, light gown of greenish yellow tinge, the most neutral as well. Thus, like the second king in the *Adoration*, with his scarlet mantle and ermine lining, this Venus in the *Primavera* provides in a single and central figure the greatest contrast of intensities. But why, it may be asked, is she placed so much farther from the central line than he? For it is evident that nearly her whole form, and nearly the whole of the red of her mantle are seen to the right of the axis. The question is readily answered. In part it is because Zephyr was made no match in color for Mercury. Thus something is required to give to the right side of the panel a greater weight in the balance. This marked displacement of Venus from the center likewise accords with the pervading movement from right to left. It is a movement which begins as a downward rushing of the Wind, and continues to the left in the swiftly running feet of Spring, is slowed by the deliberate forward advance of Flora.²⁴ It is transmitted gently onward by the hand of Venus, and the tilted head, and more swiftly by the flaming arrow of Cupid. Gently, again, it is advanced by two of the Graces. Their sister, and the insistent verticals of the arboreal screen behind, slow it almost to stopping before it is transmitted upward once more by the raised arm and wand of Mercury. Even with the moderate shifting of Venus from the center, the evidently sought equilibrium would scarcely be attained without the sharp value contrasts created by the relative abundance here of light flowers against the darker grass, and farther to the right by the flowers which adorn the light gown of the advancing Flora.

In this carefully developed design, so characteristic of Botticelli, the flowers and leaves of the dress of Flora repeat the two chief contrasts of hue found in the painting as a whole. Predominantly deep pink or red the flowers are, dark green the leaves. But there are blue flowers, likewise, and orange-yellow ones, wholly subordinate though they are to those of pink. And in the painting as a whole the chief of the contrasts, after that of red and green, is that of the flat, pale blue of the sky with the yellowish and orange-yellow flesh tones, seen directly, or through diaphanous gowns, with orange-yellow hair, and with orange fruit among the leaves.

The color of Zephyr merits a second glance. It may be of some significance, quite apart from its role in the composition. It is very different from that of the Winds which a few years later Botticelli would employ to waft Venus to shore and to the waiting Hora. Cool tones have at least as large a part as warm ones in this sylvan court; but the blue-greens of the drapery of Zephyr, and of his body, too, are felt as cold, almost, amidst the warmer greens which surround them. This Zephyr, who pursues not his usual love, Flora, but the fleeing form of Spring, is not conceived as a gentle, caressing breeze which adds delight to a day of bursting life. He is rather a chilling wind such as would slow the bursting of Spring's buds, more Boreas than Zephyr.

Whether or not it is the product of a transient influence of Andrea del Castagno's art, as Yashiro thinks,²⁵ the most grandly conceived of all of Botticelli's figures is the *St. Augustine* (Fig. 4) of the fresco painted in 1480 in the Florentine church of Ognissanti. The massive folds of the mantle of the saint, painted in the true monumental tradition, are but a reasonable complement to an intensity of thought, to a grandeur of feeling and vision, which make it possible to call this a unique figure in fifteenth century painting, without forgetting the grandeur and dignity of Masaccio's Saviour and His disciples.²⁶ For the color-scheme one cannot claim any of the true greatness of the inspired face

22. The blue and blue-green at first glance may appear to be the lining of the robe. On close study they seem not to be that in fact. The relation of this part of the costume to the rest is somewhat ambiguous.

23. The drapery of Venus has been damaged on the left, and its color is more yellow than it was originally. Before the diapered pattern of gold was so dulled, however, the whole of the cool area must have had the effect of a greenish blue.

24. Horne must be right in identifying the flower-decked

figure on the right as Flora. (*op. cit.*, p. 57) Evidently Dr. von Bode assumes that Botticelli followed the ancient myths, and the contemporary *Stanze* of Politian, more closely than he did, and thus he designates as Flora her whom Zephyr pursues. (Wilhelm von Bode, *Botticelli: des Meisters Werke*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-anstalt [Klassiker der Kunst, 30], p. xxiv.)

25. Yukio Yashiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

26. A very different view was expressed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. See J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A New*

and attitude, but it, too, is exceptional. Like the *Judith*, the fresco is composed almost wholly of three hues, here red, orange-yellow, and green; and these, of course, like the blue, orange-yellow, and green of the little panel, are contained within little more than half of the color circle. Here, too, the intermediate hue of the fresco lies about midway between the two pigment complementaries; but here it is the intermediate tone rather than the complementaries which dominate the painting. Wholly neutral tones, moreover, have been given a more important place than in the earlier work.

It is the heavy mantle of the saint which is orange-yellow, an orange-yellow centered about middle value and not greatly neutralized. The wall behind is green, but of little strength, and that above the light and neutral cornice a darker red. Between the narrow shelf of molding and the cornice red and green are more directly juxtaposed. The closed book at the middle of the shelf, and that behind the armillary sphere, are red-orange, but less intense than the orange-yellow of the mantle, and a little darker. Between them is one of green. Their own color is repeated in the disk at the right.

It may seem at first a bit singular that, with the arresting head itself to the right of the axis, the painter should draw further attention toward the right at this level, as he undoubtedly does by the contrast between the red disk and the white pages of the open geometry, and by the figures on the margins of those pages. But the face of the saint is not far from the axis, and so powerfully does his vision seem to penetrate all before it that, without the disk and the open book, the space behind the head would doubtless seem quite empty. From the shoulders down the body is centered farther to the right, and farther still the contrast between the fairly intense middle tones of the mantle and the very light, and neutral, garment beneath. This contrast of value and intensity balances, or partly balances, in the lower half of the painting the attraction of the head above the axis, but at its own level it requires counterattractions on the left. These Botticelli gives, not in intensity of hue—for the hues are relatively weak—but by the multiplication of objects, and by the comparable device of breaking the cloth upon the desk with a checkered pattern, a pattern whose squares are sufficiently large to contrast clearly with each other. Certainly their tones have little strength. The darker squares indeed are a low-light gray, and the lighter ones a much neutralized high-light orange. And the side of the table is an even more neutralized yellow.

Perhaps it is to such a passage as the cloth that a recent critic refers when he speaks of the refined preciousness of color of this fresco.²⁷ Surely, however, he errs when he finds that this takes from the painting "every trace of effective monumentality."²⁸

In the great decade which followed the painter's return from Rome his color became more individual than before, and more varied. The supreme examples of Botticelli's color perhaps are to be found among the mythological and allegorical paintings of this period. One is the *Birth of Venus*, another, one of the frescoes from the Villa Lemmi, in which was celebrated the marriage of Giovanna degli Albizzi to young Lorenzo Tornabuoni.

Unlike the *Primavera* with its pervading shadow, the *Birth of Venus* (Fig. 5) is filled with light, but a soft, diffused light, without harshness anywhere. The calm pattern of color, a delight in itself, contributes much, too, to the mood of the painting, to the dreamy, half-sad mood of the fair goddess, not fully awake to the world into which she has come, to the nostalgic mood of the painter, who would recover a lost world of long-ago. It helps to create the other-worldly quality of a world which cannot be recovered. For it is not alone the unfathomable and ineffably lovely goddess herself, all but unconscious of the approach to shore of the shell which bears her over the water, the entwined Winds, wistful and awed, who waft her shoreward and scatter roses in her path, the

History of Painting in Italy, ed. by E. Hutton, London, J. M. Dent and Co., and New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1909, II, p. 401.

27. Sergio Bettini, *Botticelli*, 2d ed., Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1947, p. 28.

28. *ibid.*

stylized wavelets beyond the shell, like birds in flight, and the equally stylized waters surging upon the shore, like the folds of Botticelli's own thinnest drapery made more free to move—it is not alone such things which establish here the quality of a world beyond human ken. It is likewise the colors of sky and sea, of trees, and grass, and shell, and hair. Yet there are no new colors here. The combinations of hues, too, had been repeated by Botticelli and others many hundreds of times. But the old combinations are woven into a work of color which is unique.

It is not, certainly, in the dominance of cool blues and greens that the uniqueness is to be found; but a part of it is found in the way in which the blue fills the sky. Fifteenth century painters knew well that the blue of the sky fades towards the earth, and that the light of the horizon is both warmer and lighter than that of the zenith. Botticelli himself had painted it so from the beginning. We have seen it so in the *Madonna of the Eucharist*, and in the *Judith*. Here, however, is a sky of uniform blue, wholly without the accustomed modulation towards the horizon, where it meets sea and gently sloping hill in a sharp, clear line. A sea it is whose flat green in this more distant part of its expanse is in harmony with the flat blue of the little lighter sky. It is significant that the sky of the *Primavera* is of an equally uniform blue, but there it is seen in small segments only, between close-set tree trunks or through a screen of leaves. Here, where the sky is open to view, its part is far larger in establishing the atmosphere of a world removed from human toil and pleasure.

By the abundant use of gold in an unreal, and quite obviously unreal manner, such an atmosphere has been heightened. Repeatedly in this decade of the 1480's, from the Sistine Chapel frescoes on, Sandro had given to his paintings the beauty of gold. Madonnas and their attendants have hair with strands of gold. There are robes with borders of gold embroidery. There are golden inscriptions, as on the Constantinian arch behind the rebels who rose against Moses. There are books whose pages are edged with gold. There are golden crowns, and halos, and rays of gold streaming from heavenly orbs. In the beauty of color all of these are splendid components. But this gold seems almost a part of the order of nature. So may it seem likewise in the floating hair of Venus, where golden strands are more richly mingled than in the hair of any angel or Madonna. So also is it in the gold-edged shell, lighted within by hundreds of almost indistinguishable threads of gold, and outside, beneath the feet of the goddess, by lines which merge in a mass of light. So it is, again, in the light of powdered gold on the drapery around the shoulders of the female Zephyr. But elsewhere it is more clearly an element of a world of the imagination. The dark green leaves of the orange trees are veined and outlined with gold. The small, white blossoms, dimly seen in the restricted shadows, have stamens and pistils which are tiny points of gold. Along the full length of the trunks, and on the branches, are stylized highlights of short hatches of gold, closely set. Curving blades of grass beneath the feet of Hora are lighted with gold. On the cat-tails which rise by the water's edge, other highlights are thin ribbons of gold. And, like the orange blossoms, the delicate pink roses, scattered through the air, have stamens of golden points, and there are calyces of gold and gold-veined leaves again.

In few paintings, if any, of the Quattrocento do the familiar pairs of hues form a more closely interlocked whole than in the *Birth of Venus*. The normal pairing of blue with orange or orange-yellow, as we have seen, does not appear in the sky itself, but against the unchanging blue are seen the golden hair of Venus and the pale orange and orange-yellow of her unclothed body. Of low intensity, indeed, are these flesh tones, but both orange tones and their blue background are by contrast slightly intensified. The golden strands of hair are tied beside the neck by a narrow ribbon of violet-blue, more neutral than the sky. From the sky's pale blue through the green of the water to the gold and neutral yellow of the giant shell there is a progression from cool tones to mildly warm ones, and thus the contrast made by the flesh tones of Venus with the background tones becomes progressively smaller. But, as if in compensation, seldom has the line even of Botticelli been as sharp as the outlines of her form. In the breeze-blown cloak spread by the waiting Hora

and in the shore, and hills, and dark orange leaves and trunks behind it, and around it, red and green are brought together. The gold aside, there are no colors in the painting more intense than those of this welcoming cloak. But even in its red and orange-red there is no more than half intensity in the half-lights, and in the lights much less. For even the greatest contrasts of hue are kept subdued and wonderfully harmonious, just as shadows, too, are restrained, and contrasts of light and dark in much of the painting are kept low.

The hues of sea and sky in the central portion of the scene are repeated in variation towards the ends. At the right, where the sea itself ends in a series of curving bays, its green is repeated in yellower tones on the pleasant slopes beyond the rosy cloak, and darkened in leaves and grove-shaded ground; and a little of the sky's light blue appears, also, between the slender trunks. On the left, where it is chiefly the sky which the forms of the Winds interrupt, it is the blue which is repeated in the flying drapery and combined with orange flesh tones. The flesh tones of the female Zephyr, differing little, if any, from those of Venus herself, provide another link with the color of the center. The orange of the companion with whom she is entwined is more colorful, and he thus provides a more appreciable contrast for the gray-blue of his billowing cloak.

The ends of the painting are bound in color to each other as well as to the center. Such a function is served by the yellow-green shadows of the female partner's drapery and by the dark wings streaked with golden light, though the green is muted almost to silence. The pink and green of the roses scattered by the Zephyrs link their half of the painting more completely with the dominant red and green on the right. On the right, in turn, there is a similar link to the blue and orange of the Wind. It is the blue cornflowers, and their orange stems and leaves, with which the yellow-white dress of Hora is strewn.²⁹

The marriage fresco of Giovanna degli Albizzi (Fig. 7) was painted almost at the same time as the *Birth of Venus* for an even younger Lorenzo. This and the companion work in the Louvre in which Lorenzo himself is presented to the Liberal Arts, were largely finished, as Horne has noted,³⁰ in secco over true fresco. These must now present but a shadow of their former beauty, since they are more vulnerable than true fresco alone would have been to the generations-long covering by whitewash, and to the removal of this unfortunate veil, to damage by rain, repair of the plaster, and injury once more by removal from the wall and transfer to another land.³¹

The composition, with a single figure set opposite a group, is of a type made familiar by Duccio in the panels of the *Maestà*. Giovanna, indeed, is not wholly unattended on the right, for a little Cupid, too, is there, far down in the corner. But she stands virtually alone as she holds out the cloth in which Venus places her gift.³² The erect form of the bride and the many straight folds of her dress give to her an emphasis which the undulant and almost interwoven forms of the goddess and her attendants do not receive. But in large part it was by the skillful use of color that Botticelli avoided overbalancing her by the Graces and Venus.³³ Whereas the four immortals are clothed in delicate, pastel colors, and stand before a pastel background, that straight gown of the too mortal Florentine (who was to die within two years) in its much darker color contrasts strongly with the pale tone behind. So poorly preserved is this bridal gown that it is difficult to say with assurance what its color was when it was new. Horne calls it purple,³⁴ but it appears more likely that it was a neutralized orange-red, and doubtless as low in value as high dark. The background, considered by Horne a wall, is now a light yellow or orange-yellow, very much neutralized, and perfectly

29. Along the left side of the painting a considerable part of the blue of the sky and the green of the water, almost to the bottom, has acquired a purplish hue, the result, evidently, of damage by dampness. Little dirt is apparent except on the light gown of Hora.

30. Horne, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

31. *ibid.*

32. Venus is placing flowers there in the opinion of Horne,

an opinion in which he follows "the Florentine commentators." *op. cit.*, p. 147.

33. Elsewhere these are less convincingly called the Cardinal Virtues. See Wilhelm von Bode, *op. cit.*, p. xxix, and Lionello Venturi, *Botticelli*, New York, Oxford University Press, and Vienna, The Phaidon Press, 1937, p. 19.

34. *op. cit.*, p. 147.

harmonious with the dark hue of the dress. But here and there are spots of pale green which suggest that this once covered the yellow ground; and on the left, the half of the Graces, the traces of green are more extensive. The dark and neutral green upon which the figures stand was not improbably the darker underpainting of now vanished grass and flowers.³⁵

Since all of the heads other than that of the young Cupid are in the upper part of the fresco, and since the strong value contrast created by Giovanna's dress is also largely in the upper half, it may appear that the center of attraction was placed higher than was usual. But is it so? For not only is the Cupid there, standing as low as the light border of the painting, but the rhythmic feet of the four tripping ladies, not hidden by shoes or sandals, nor covered by long garments, are an unusually important element in the ensemble.

Thoughtful associations of hue in the fresco are abundant. In the orange-red of Giovanna's dress, deep-toned though it is, are combined the hues which adorn the pair nearest her, the orange of her who is closest, and the deeper pink of the mantle of Venus, which covers so largely a garment of palest yellow. The little Cupid's orange-yellow extends the association of warm-toned garments with the warm-toned dress of Giovanna. And in the gold-trimmed pink, and orange, and yellow of the gentle Olympian pair there is a delightful juxtaposition of warm hues such as was to appear not infrequently in Venetian painting of the sixteenth century, yet not with the quality of these fresco hues.

From the two in pink, and yellow, and orange, who lead the short procession, the one who comes last is separated by a sister clothed in yellowish white. Only at the neck, above the white dress, is the blue of an undergarment seen, a blue repeated in the narrow ribbon which binds the orange hair. Perhaps the hues of the final Grace's garments, the bluish green of the dress and the weaker violet of the mantle above it (recalling the angelic garments of Duccio's Madonna, in Florence), were felt by the painter as related to the red-orange of these adjacent sisters' hair. Possibly they were felt as complementaries of the orange-red and yellow into which in thought it may be divided. Surely, however, this blue-green and violet must have been felt as closely related to the colors beyond the white dress, to the pale yellow which complements the violet, and to the deeper pink, the complement of the blue-green. The intensities of these colors, now clearly diminished from their one-time state, must never have been great. The small contrasts of value between these light pinks and greens, yellows and violets, and oranges and blues, give to this gay array of colors a quite exceptional harmoniousness. Like the *Birth of Venus* and the *Spring*, this fresco must surely be counted one of the great creations of Quattrocento art.

Among the religious paintings of the decade of these works the divergencies of color-scheme are very great, but no other is farther removed from the quiet harmonies of the *Birth of Venus* and those which present the Tornabuoni bride than is that of the astonishing *Annunciation* (Fig. 3) in the Uffizi, a work from the end of the period. This *Annunciation*, however, unlike each of the seven paintings already examined, is a disputed work. In the gallery in which it hangs the name of Botticelli is not questioned. Wilhelm von Bode considered it a perfectly preserved work of Botticelli's own hand. Even the design and the painting of the frame are called his.³⁶ Later, Theodor Hetzer, as already mentioned, took it as his single example of Botticelli's color. Berenson, however, had already labeled it a school work.³⁷ Much longer ago Horne had confined Botticelli's part in its creation to some possible "share in the preliminary stages of the cartoon."³⁸ Yashiro, who sees in this remarkable painting "the most admirable of Annunciations of the world's art," finds, nevertheless, that "only the conception and composition are due to Botticelli himself."³⁹ A later chorus of voices has given to Botticelli no greater part.

35. *ibid.*

36. *op. cit.*, p. xxx.

37. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*,

Oxford, 1932, p. 102.

38. *op. cit.*, p. 166.

39. *op. cit.* p. 113.

The authorship of the painting, it is evident, must be considered, at least briefly, before its unusual color can be called Botticelli's. It is upon internal evidence that Horne rejects it. "Coarse" and "mannered" the draughtsmanship was called by him.⁴⁰ Coarse it does not appear, and if mannered, the manner is that of undoubted works by Sandro. The head and hands are said to be lifeless.⁴¹ As for the hands, one wonders if the judgment stems in part from the similarity of the positions in which three of them are held. As for the heads, it is impossible to regard the expressive face of Gabriel as "lifeless." The angelic locks, though not singled out by the critics for their deficiencies, do not, indeed, show the supreme mastery of line which appears in the hair of the *Primavera's* Three Graces, or in that of the Venus of the companion picture. Neither does the hair of most of the painter's other figures, that of the intense, haloed boy, for example, of the *Madonna of the Magnificat*, or that of the angels of the *Madonna of the Pomegranate*. It is true, as Mrs. Sandberg-Vavalà has said,⁴² that the landscape is a bit commonplace and dull. It gives no hint, surely, of the simple beauties of the Washington *Adoration of the Magi*, or of the greater beauty of the haunting distance of the *Korah, Dathan, and Abiram*. But it is no duller than the landscape of the Uffizi's *Coronation of the Virgin*. And whether or not the execution was Botticelli's, the numerous towers piercing the sky with northern points, were features which he had used before, both in the Berlin *St. Sebastian* and in the just-mentioned fresco in Rome. The little boats, moreover, are of a type which the painter had used in the *St. Sebastian*; and the nearest one is seen almost unchanged in the *Pallas and the Centaur*.

It is not easy to understand why this *Annunciation* is called a mere school piece when other works which are far less close to Sandro's certain works are either accepted entirely or less completely rejected. The very inferior Munich *Deposition*, for example, Mr. Berenson regards as in great part the work of Botticelli himself.⁴³

Certain critics have written of the color of the *Annunciation* and have contrasted it with that of Botticelli himself. Mrs. Sandberg-Vavalà finds this painting "a very faultless composition" but one which, when one is before it, "appears emptier and less vital than is usual with Botticelli. Maybe," she continues, "this is due to the colouring, somewhat colder than is usual and lacking the enrichment of gold. . . . The containing architecture is flawless and the perspective is accurate, but the walls of gray pietra serena are cold and severe."⁴⁴

The wall is indeed gray, and does appear cold, but the painting as a whole might as reasonably have been called warmer than usual; for no single part of the color is more striking than the large area of intense reddish orange of the tiles of the floor, not greatly reduced in intensity even by the shadow cast by the angel. It is true, likewise, that the enrichment of gold, which is so delightful a part of various of Sandro's works of this decade, is not here. But already, in such works as the little *Judith*, the Uffizi *Adoration of the Magi*, and the Washington *Adoration*, he had shown that his abilities as a colorist were not dependent upon the use of gold.

Sergio Bettini, for no apparent reason, goes so far as to attribute the color of the painting to a particular one-time pupil, Filippino Lippi, whom he blames for "muddying and weighting the painting with his too showy color, whose feeling goes beyond the Botticellian limit of expressive coördination and seeks delights in hues of a gratuitous abundance."⁴⁵

It was Horne's view that the coloring "possesses none of that luminous, translucent quality which distinguishes Botticelli's colour: the cold purple of the angel's robe, the crude brick-red of the tiling on the floor, the chill, heavy gray of the wall behind the figures, do not recall the genuine works

40. *op. cit.*, p. 166.

41. *ibid.*

42. Evelyn Sandberg-Vavalà, *Uffizi Studies*, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1948, p. 227.

43. Bernard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 104.

44. *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

45. "... intorbidato e appesantito dal colore troppo fastoso di Filippino, il cui senso trapassa il limite botticelliano di coördinazione espressiva e cerca diversioni in timbri d'un lusso gratuito." Sergio Bettini, *Botticelli*, p. 38.

of the painter."⁴⁶ Yet Horne was certain that the painting came from Sandro's shop, in the house in which he lived.⁴⁷ The evidence of the painting itself would make it highly arbitrary to suggest that it was the work of a follower in some independent shop. Surely one must go as far as Yashiro, and regard the conception and composition as Botticelli's. Let us suppose, although it must be clear that the present writer rejects the supposition, that Botticelli had no part in the actual execution of this panel. Is it reasonable to assume, even so, that in a work produced in his own shop, and for whose very striking composition (however dependent upon Donatello's Cavalcanti Altarpiece) he himself was responsible, the painter would have given to an assistant a free hand in the choice of colors? This, moreover, all would agree, is no ordinary color composition. Horne is unquestionably right in thinking that these colors do not recall those of "genuine works" of Botticelli. One may go further. They do not recall those of any other disputed work either. Nor do they recall those of the works of any of the painter's contemporaries. The coloring is unique, just as is that of the San Barnaba Madonna. So likewise we have just seen it in a quieter and more enchanting way in the fresco of *Giovanna degli Albizzi and the Graces*. And that of the *Annunciation*, too, can be called Botticelli's.

Theodor Hetzer is obviously right in seeing in the color of this painting a rejection of harmony; but if the painter wounds the critic's eye it may be for a reasonable purpose. The dissonance of tones is carried much further than in the altarpiece of St. Barnabas. The sharp contrasts of intense hues produce, indeed, a feeling of excitement. Almost startling is the intensity of the slightly reddish orange of the tiles, enframed in their light yellow borders. Perhaps—but one can merely suggest it, with no certainty that the suggestion is valid—the excitement of color was adopted for the definite purpose of conveying to the observer something of the inner excitement of the Virgin at the message brought by Gabriel. Overwhelming news it was, not just a pleasant, to-be-expected greeting from Heaven. An unwonted excitement of color, although not approaching that of this panel, is found also in Giotto's fresco of the *Annunciation of the Birth of the Virgin*. Certainly Botticelli in the posture itself of the Uffizi Virgin Annunciate moves far away from the calmness with which the painters of his times were accustomed to show Mary's reception of the news. Not often, indeed, had others matched the feeling, unpleasant feeling there, shown by Simone Martini in the Sant' Ansano *Annunciation*. But Botticelli, in the much-ruined fresco from San Martino, in the Via della Scala, in Florence,⁴⁸ had already shown, in the posture of a kneeling figure, a Virgin more deeply moved than was usual.

The brilliant tiles, of course, cannot alone create the dissonance and harshness of color in the scene of which they form a part. The major assistance comes from the red-violet gown of Gabriel, also intense, and except in its deepest shadows contrasting little in value with the tiles. The several hues of Gabriel's garments themselves adjoin in far from restful union. For the undergarment, seen chiefly in the sleeves, is of an orange-yellow which is little if any less intense than the violet-red. And the more neutral wings are suffused with green, a bluish green near the shoulders and back, varying to yellow-green and neutral yellow farther out. Mary's garments, the mantle of strong blue and the tunic of a little less strong red, offer no such clash of hues. But the dark green lining and collar, which both red and blue adjoin, presents so sharp a contrast of dark with light, and light in no little intensity, that this ensemble of color, if less agitating than that of Gabriel and the tiles, is scarcely a quiet assemblage. Although the blue, furthermore, adjoins the orange tiles and less orange lectern in undisturbing partnership, the red of the gown is hardly seen quite apart from the disputatious violet-red of Gabriel.

It is readily apparent that the intensities of hue and the sharp contrasts of hue in the painting are heavily weighted in its lower half. But on the right the striking movement of the Virgin, most

46. *op. cit.*, p. 166.

47. *ibid.*

48. Reproduced in Bettini, *op. cit.*, pl. 48. The fresco is said to be now in the Uffizi, but it is not on exhibition.

important in the upper half of the work, and the just-noticed value contrasts, are enough to match this. Thus no strong color is needed in the wall to establish here the usual balance above and below the median line. Close to the Virgin there appears to be the slightest admixture of orange, but elsewhere the grayness seems almost complete, if it is observed apart from its surroundings. Not so isolated, it appears to have a slightly cool tinge, perhaps due to the tendency of the eye to see the complementary hue of the intensely colored pavement.

On the left side of the painting Gabriel's highly colored garments are wholly in the lower half, along with the startling tiles. Not even the angelic head is above the axis, but directly on it. Thus, for purposes of composition, there is need of the landscape higher up, with its large expanse of light, for the contrasting low-dark shadow of the frame beside it, and for the darkness of the wall to the left.

The colors of the landscape are not unusual. The trees and the gentle hills which confine the river are of green and yellow-green. And the sky, at the top a much neutralized blue, upon which now an overlay of yellowish varnish is seen, modulates to an even more neutral warm tone lower down. More than a half of its expanse is given the faint warmth, orange here, it seems, which was rejected in the painting of the *Primavera* and the *Birth of Venus*.

Although the wall behind the Virgin, as has been pointed out, could be given the neutral tones of *pietra serena* without fault of composition, this grayness may have more than a negative function. The purpose of the seemingly cool tinged gray may well have been the accentuation of the strong and clashing hues of the pavement and the figures.

By his skill in color composition the painter makes the exceptional dissonance of this *Annunciation* a thing which is quite right. A lesser artist, employing no such unusual combinations, by unskillful distribution of his colors within the frame may give them the look of ill-paired partners. In the National Gallery of Art, in Washington, is a large panel of the *Visitation*, by Piero di Cosimo. In the combination of hues there is no such daring as Botticelli exhibits in the Uffizi *Annunciation*; but by placing on the same side—the left it is—the only two large areas of intense hue, the blue mantle of the standing Virgin, near the center, and the scarlet and yellow of St. Nicholas, seated at the corner, and by clothing the corresponding figures on the other side, the seated St. Anthony and the standing St. Elizabeth, in garments of dark and neutralized color, he gives to the work a jarring feeling of mismatched tones.

The few works which we have examined from those two most active decades of Botticelli's career do not reveal a painter who introduced new manners of coloring which were to be passed on to a long line of successors. There is nothing new which in its influence is comparable to the consistent and unifying lighting of Masaccio. There is nothing which was so to become the common property of Italian or Florentine painters as the modulation of the colors of the sky from the blue upper air to the warm-toned horizon, first brought into Florentine painting about the 1430's, in the works of Fra Angelico or those of some contemporary. There is nothing comparable to the fruitful scheme of employing warm hues alone, found now and then as early as Simone Martini in figures of single saints,⁴⁹ made important in Italian portraiture by Antonello da Messina, and by Giovanni Bellini used with distinction in a painting combining several figures in a single scene, the Rimini Museum's *Dead Christ Supported by Angels*.⁵⁰ There is nothing which was to be so frequently reflected in

49. There is a small panel representing St. John the Baptist (Number 402), in the National Gallery of Art, in Washington, which is attributed to Simone Martini. Its color is a harmony of warm tones alone, reds, oranges, orange-yellows, and gold. It, like a small number of similarly colored panels of this period, may have been originally a part of a polyptych.

50. Giovanni Bellini did not himself continue to paint in a color-scheme of warm hues alone, but left to others, notably to his pupil Titian, its frequent and splendid repetition in the sixteenth century. *The Concert*, in the Pitti Gallery, is one of

the earliest of such paintings following Giovanni's own. Whereas Antonello's portraits were all small bust-length panels, many large ones of the following century, including full-length portraits, were colored in this manner. One of the finest examples with more than a single subject is that by Titian of Paul III and his grandsons, in the National Museum, in Naples. Numerous sixteenth century Venetian works, moreover, which were not completely warm, contained little contrasting cool tone. A famous central Italian painting of this kind is Raphael's portrait, now in the Uffizi (1952) of Leo X

after years as the glorious sunrise and sunset skies of Bellini.⁵¹ But Botticelli continued established practices of color composition with unsurpassed skill and taste. He did more than this. With no little boldness he followed established ways. With an originality second to that of no other painter of his time he created new color-schemes from time to time, and fitted color to mood.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

ADDENDUM⁵²

You are quite right, I think, in the opinion that there has been no continuation of the Ross-Pope methods, at least outside of the classroom. But it seems to me that there has been very little continuation of any other method in the analysis of the color of paintings. In recent years there has been a great spawning of books on color, but, as you doubtless know, these quite varied works are addressed to problems very different from those which I am pursuing.

Why has there been so little systematic analysis of the colors of paintings of earlier ages? Surely it is not because the colors of the paintings have had little appeal. It is not that they have played no more than a small part in the total impression which the works create. The considerable number of books of colored reproductions appearing in these days, and the fairly high prices which people are willing to pay for them, seem to furnish at least some evidence that the colors are felt to be important. But in the text even of these books the subject of color is touched upon very lightly. In one of the most highly praised of these, for example, in the section on Botticelli, the only reference to color is this: "In a bright sheen of colours the figure of the saint [St. Augustine of the fresco in Ognissanti] is given its full plastic value." In the section on Piero della Francesca only "the calm glow of the colours" and "the vitality of his colour" are mentioned. In that on Duccio, who, I am convinced, was a very fine colorist, there is no mention of the subject. Such examples can be multiplied. Rarely, I think, does even a monograph on an Italian painter devote as much attention to color as the Erich von der Bercken and August Mayer, *Jacopo Tintoretto*. Where more might be most expected, as in Fiocco's *Paolo Veronese*, the opening page of which exalts the painter's color harmonies above those of all other painters, it is not found. A large part of what has been written about painting, it is fair to say, has been written almost as if paintings were works in black and white.

I cannot pretend to explain why the colors of paintings have not been more frequently analyzed, but I can suggest one or two factors which may have had something to do with this neglect. One is connected with a question which you raise. It is the problem of nomenclature. I remember well that when I first

thought of making an extensive study of color in Italian painting, some of my friends and former fellow students of the fine arts agreed that it would be a fascinating subject but wondered how one could write about it. Even one acquainted with various systems of nomenclature, it appears, may consider them troublesome tools for prolonged use in writing.

Another factor which may have played a part is the physical weariness which such a study may involve. Probably the scholar who is writing a book concerning a large number of paintings by various artists bases his text to a large extent upon photographs. No doubt he has seen most, if not all, of the works about which he writes, but one may doubt that he usually considers it necessary to take very full notes in front of the paintings. He knows that when he sits down at his desk he will have photographs at hand. But if one wishes to write about color it is necessary to take quite detailed notes from the paintings themselves. These notes, furthermore, are not likely to be very satisfactory unless one, on the spot in each instance, makes an analysis of other elements of the composition too, as I have suggested in the manuscript sent to you. Working very steadily it is usually not possible—at least not possible for me—to take adequate notes on a large number of paintings in a single day, especially when large and complex examples are included. If one were engaged in writing about the works of a single painter only, it might be supposed that the time and effort required for such preliminary work might not be very great. That the problem is not quite as simple as it appears, however, is suggested by something which you may have noted in G. M. Richter's *Giorgio da Castelfranco*. In an appendix he gives notations of the colors of a number of the paintings, but he himself makes little use of these. So little work, apparently, of the kind that I am considering, has yet been done that one who wishes to study the color of one painter must study that of many others to find out whether that which one sees in the one represents a usual practice or is something peculiar to the particular painter. I could never have taken the notes which I have taken in the course of four summers in Europe if I had not been able to sit down in front of each painting which I studied in almost every museum and church which I visited.

Another obstacle to such studies, which some stu-

and his two cousins, Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi Rossi.

51. The sunset colors were often repeated, but much less frequently the horizontal bands of light and color, sometimes sharply separated, which were characteristic of Bellini's own sunsets.

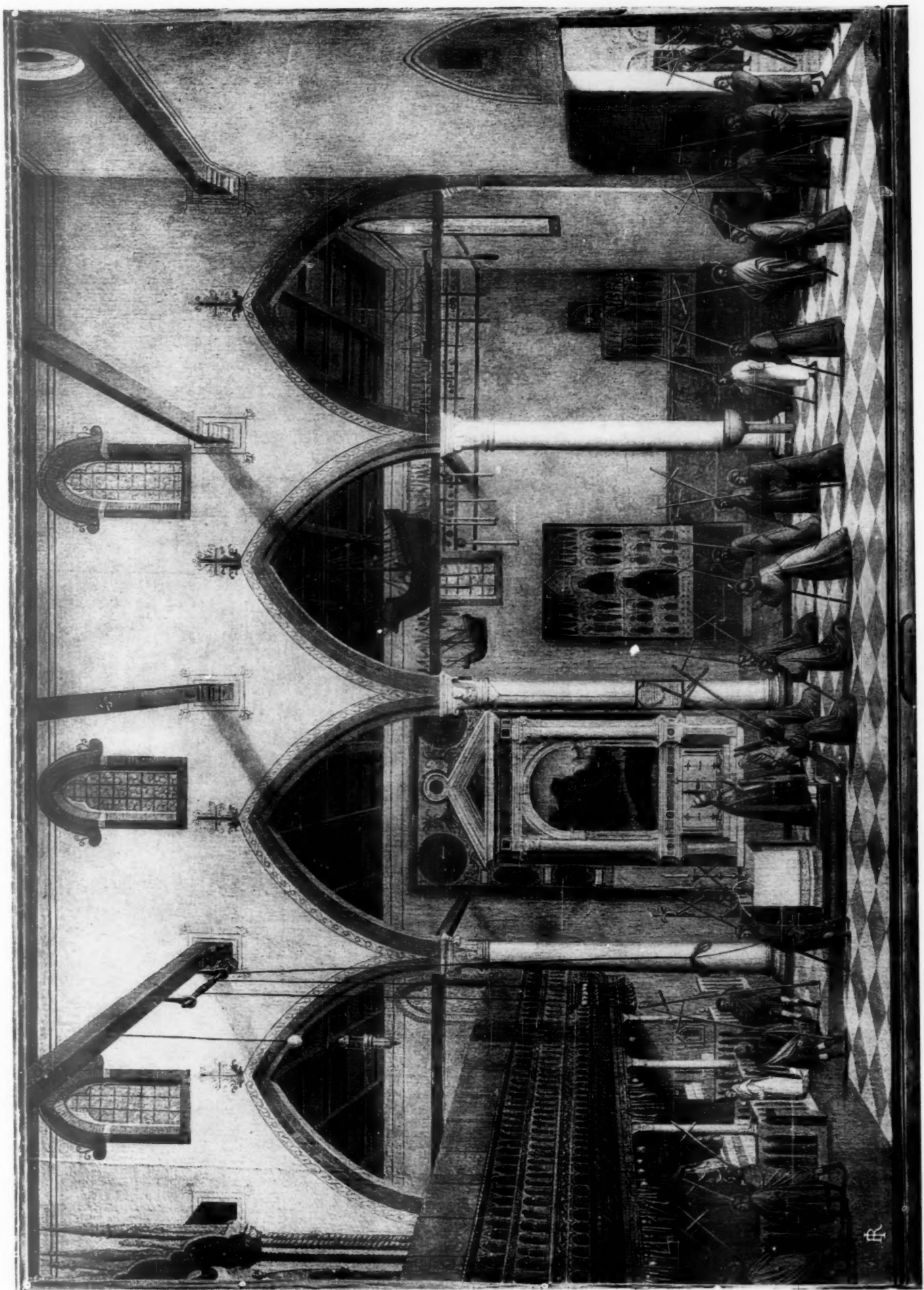
52. The following excerpt from a letter of the author, drawn from correspondence between author and editor regarding the above article, is appended, at the invitation of the editor, for its possible interest in regard to problems of the study of color in paintings. EDITOR.

dents, I believe, would consider too great an obstacle, is the fact that the colors of paintings of as long ago as the fifteenth or sixteenth century are rarely, if ever, just what they were in the beginning. Some, no doubt, would consider this fact an insuperable difficulty. Even those who would not consider it such, however, may well have been deterred from writing about color by the near-impossibility of showing to the reader what they might point out in the text. The number of reproductions in color which one might think it necessary to use would usually be prohibitively expensive. Even if they were not too expensive there is the danger of their being at variance with the observations of the writer. (There are some in some of the best books of color reproduction which do not confirm all I have written or shall write.) Of course these reproductions are never accurate, and talks with some of the men at the Eastman Kodak plant in Rochester lead me to believe that they are not likely to be accurate in the near future; but they are often good enough to be usable.

Of the usefulness of the Ross-Pope approach I have little doubt, as my own use of it does, indeed, imply. It does, I am convinced, contribute to the understanding of the artist's use of color. It does bring out facts about its use which without the systematic employment of some such method would probably go unnoticed. At times the knowledge so acquired may be of use in connection with a more generally recognized concern of the historian of art, that of attribution. Someone, for example, with lingering doubts as to the authorship of the St. Catherine frescoes in San Clemente, in Rome, might well find those doubts resolved in favor of Masolino after studying the colors there and at Castiglione d'Olona by such a method as we are considering and comparing them with the colors of contemporary frescoes. From trying it on others I conclude that the use of the Ross-Pope method contributes not a little, too, to the enjoyment of paintings, but this one would expect of any process which increases the understanding. There is much danger, no doubt, of using the method poorly. I must hope that, in general, my own analyses are not a mere intellectual game having little to do with the painters' accomplishments. I am encouraged by the fact that others seem able to follow

them so frequently without dissent when looking at the originals or at fairly good reproductions in color.

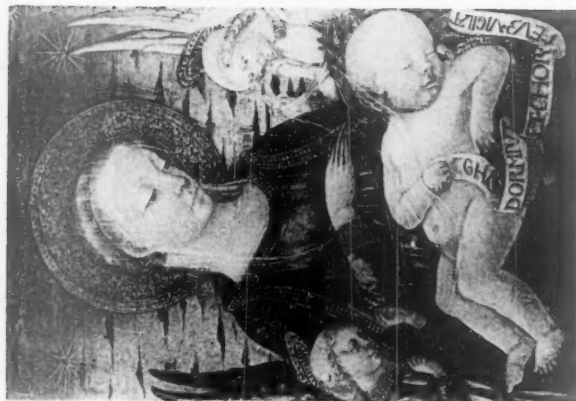
As for nomenclature, a satisfactory system must certainly enable one to record colors in fairly close approximation and to understand easily what has been recorded. During my first year in the study of the fine arts at Harvard I was surprised to learn, through the laboratory exercises in Professor Pope's course, with what a high degree of accuracy one could learn to record colors in words. There are other schemes of color notation, of course, such as Munsell's, which permit equal or greater accuracy. I once tried for a short time using Munsell's notation and a Munsell *Color Atlas*. But I decided that a notation which uses numbers to so important a degree was less satisfactory for the purpose of the analysis of paintings than one which relies more completely upon words. Indeed after a little trial it seemed to me desirable, from the point of view of the reader, to go farther in this direction than Pope's nomenclature goes. It soon became apparent that the degree of precision which the Ross-Pope nomenclature permits, and the degree of precision at which I aimed in the beginning, were not only unnecessary but misleading. An investigation of the way in which hues, and values, and intensities (or chromas, if one prefers) have been combined in paintings hardly requires an exact measurement of each of these elements. An effort to attain the high degree of precision which the nomenclature makes possible, moreover, would suggest that the colors of paintings undergo no changes. And to attempt such precision with the use even of the Pope-Ross nomenclature quite unmodified would be to write something wholly unreadable. Thus instead of calling a hue three-quarters or more neutralized, or a quarter neutralized, I prefer as a rule to call the color a very much neutralized one or a fairly intense one, although I may have recorded it more exactly in my notes, according to the scale fixed in my own mind. Even with such modifications of the system of notation it is extremely difficult to avoid monotony of expression. As a further aid in such an effort I have thought it desirable to use from time to time certain generally understood color names which form no part of the Pope nomenclature, scarlet, for example.



1. Vittore Carpaccio. *Vision of the prior of S. Antonio di Castello*, Venice, Academy



2. Luca Signorelli. Pendant ostrich egg
Orvieto, Cappella di S. Brizio, Duomo



4. Neri di Bicci, *Madonna with Sleeping Child*. Whereabouts unknown



3. Lorenzo Lotto. *Legend of St. Lucy*. Jesi, Pinacoteca

NOTES

ADDENDUM OVOLOGICUM

MILLARD MEISS

In a paper read before the Renaissance session of the College Art Association in January, 1952, and now published,¹ the writer identifies the egg suspended in Piero della Francesca's painting in the Brera as an ostrich egg, and points out that similar eggs appear in other late Quattrocento paintings. To show that these large eggs, genuine or simulated, actually were hung in churches, a passage from Durandus is adduced, and also a record of 1338, when an artisan was paid for the repair of some ostrich eggs suspended over the altar of the Baptistery of Florence. Since writing the article I have come across additional evidence of this practice, some of it visual and very nearly contemporary with the paintings under consideration.

There is first of all a curious picture by Vittore Carpaccio now in the Academy in Venice, No. 91 (Fig. 1). It relates a vision of Francesco Antonio Ottoboni, prior of S. Antonio di Castello in Venice. The prior, while kneeling before an altar, sees the martyrs of Ararat, each carrying a cross and moving in procession into his church. The building, which was destroyed in 1807, is represented in great detail. Three large ship models appear high above the floor, and the altarpieces are so carefully described as to be precisely datable. On the rope supporting the largest lamp, which hangs in the center of the nave, is suspended an enormous ostrich egg, much as in the Mantegnesque paintings discussed in the article. There are five additional eggs, somewhat smaller but no doubt intended as those of an ostrich, on another lamp hanging in the nave. This lamp, which is exceptionally heavy, is suspended from a winch that facilitates lowering when additional oil was required. The winch is operated by a rope that is tied around a column. Lamps of less weight were customarily suspended from a pulley, as in Montagna's large altarpiece in the Brera.

The half-dozen eggs fixed to the lamps are apparently not the only ones visible in this church. They are rounded out almost to an even dozen by those hanging from the *parco* or nave screen along with other votive offerings.

It must not be thought that the *operai* and the congregation of this church had a peculiar oölogical bent. An interest in the big eggs can be documented elsewhere as well, though the quantities involved are more modest. One is fixed to each of the lamps hanging in the church painted by Lorenzo Lotto ca. 1523-31 in a predella of his altarpiece now in the Pinacoteca at Jesi

(Fig. 3). This painting also is the work of a Venetian painter, but there is similar evidence in Tuscany.

As mentioned above, two (or more) eggs were suspended in the Baptistery in Florence, over an altar dedicated to the Baptist. For the Cathedral itself the following three records are relevant:

1445, Febbraio 27.

Angelo Nicolai degli orioli, 1. VI s. III fp., sunt pro parte solutionis armature unius ovi marmoris pro contrapeso fiendo pro lanpadibus que retinentur ante altare maius. (Stanz., G, c. 77.)

1445, Aprile 23.

Angelo Nicolai degli orioli, 1. LV fp., sunt pro resto sui magisterii in ornando unum ovum qui est ante altare maius. (Stanz., G, c. 81^t.—Cfr. B. serN., VI, c. 6^t.)

1447, Settembre 6.

(Spese minute appartenenti alla sagrestia deono dare) 1. I s. XIII p. portò Michelozzo di Bartolomeo per ranciare l'novo (*sic*) dello struzolo all'altare mag(i)ore portò chontanti. (Quad. di cassa, X, c. 7^t.)²

Probably all these three records refer to one egg. It served as a counterweight for the lamps hanging over the high altar. It was undoubtedly fixed to the same rope or chain that supported the lamps, but on the opposite side of the pulley from the lamps themselves. Thus it helped balance the weight of the lamps when they were raised or lowered. Normally it would hang at some distance above the floor, perhaps at the same height as the lamps themselves. Whereas this egg served as a counterweight, the specimens painted by Carpaccio and Lotto as well as all the examples cited in my article (except Piero's) were fixed to the bar or chain immediately above the lamp, so that they *added* to the weight of the lamp. Evidently the interest in ostrich eggs transcended any practical purpose they may occasionally have served.³

The high altar of the Cathedral of Florence over which the egg hung was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The high altar of the Cathedral of Siena, likewise dedicated to the Virgin, displayed ostrich eggs also. Above the Maestà of Duccio that stood on the altar were suspended two of them, connected in some way with five iron chandeliers.⁴ The great egg was again associated with the Madonna in another part of the same cathedral. As Dr. Wolfgang Lotz, whom I have discovered to be a fellow oölogist, has kindly pointed out to me, an "huovo di sturzo" hung before the chapel

1. *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, ed. Dorothy Miner, Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 92-101. The paper was read also at the International Congress of Art History in Amsterdam, July, 1952, and a synopsis will appear in the Acts of the Congress.

2. Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, Berlin, 1909, documents 1189, 1190, 1195.

3. For a contrary view, unsubstantiated, see C. Gilbert, in *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, p. 329.

4. See the inventory entry of 1435 to which Miss Mirella D'Ancona has called attention in *ART BULLETIN*, XXXV, 1953, p. 329. The inventory entry is reprinted in V. Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena*, Siena, 1911, p. 149, n. 124.

of the sacristy—a chapel dedicated to the Virgin.

"Uno huovo di sturzo, cerchiato d'attone, attachato dinanti alle (*sic*) cappella di sagrestia dove stanno li reliquij."⁵

Here the egg was exhibited alone, unrelated to a lamp. It hangs similarly in the Cappella di S. Brizio in the cathedral of Orvieto, as Dr. Lotz has pointed out to me. There it is painted in the embrasure of the arch over the window, underneath Christ in the Last Judgment (Fig. 2).

It is thus clear that when fifteenth century painters introduced pendant ostrich eggs into their altarpieces they were following a practice that was well established in the churches themselves. There the eggs were familiar objects, hanging over altars or from the arches of chapels. Undoubtedly their great size was a source of wonder and delight.⁶ Beyond this we cannot always be entirely certain why they were prominently displayed, but they usually signified certain ideas of the Virgin and the Incarnation, as I have shown in the article mentioned above.

* * * * *

When giving an account in my article of the meaning of the theme of the Madonna with the sleeping Child, I discussed Tura's representation of it in a panel in the Museo Civico in Venice. The inscription on this Madonna (SVIGLIA EL TUO FIGLIO DOLCE MADRE PIA PER FAR INFIN FELICE LALMA MIA) seems to suggest that the Child must be awakened from his slumber, a consequence of his humanity, if the process of redemption is to unfold. Mr. Dario Covi, who is preparing a valuable compilation of inscriptions in Quattrocento paintings, has now kindly called to my attention a second Madonna with an inscription. Painted by Neri di Bicci, this panel shows the Virgin and two angels holding a transparent veil above the sleeping Infant.⁷ In the Child's hand there is a scroll on which is written: EGHO DORMIVI ET CHOR (M) EU (M) VIGILAT. Part of the same inscription—COR MEUM VIGILAT—appears on another painting of the sleeping Child, a sixteenth-century Italian picture, whereabouts unknown, of which Miss Daphne Hoffman has kindly shown me a photograph.⁸

5. This is an entry in a cathedral inventory of 1482 published by S. Borghesi and E. L. Banchi, *Nuovi Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese*, Siena, 1898. The egg, like the one in the cathedral of Florence, was set in metal.

6. Admiration of the ostrich egg, and something of its earlier religious connotation, survived into the nineteenth century. In 1880, as Miss Helen Franc has kindly pointed out to me, *La Vie Moderne* held an exhibition of painted Easter eggs. The ostrich eggs were suspended on cords of silk and wool after having been painted by several artists, among them Forain, Rops, and Manet. The egg painted by Manet (with a figure of Polichinelle) belonged in 1930 to Bernheim jeune in Paris (Cf. A. Tabarant, *Manet*, Paris, 1931, p. 388, No. 347).

7. The painting was sold at Sotheby, January 31, 1951, as no. 35.

8. The photograph is in the Frick Art Reference Library. In this instance Christ lies on a bed and the inscription is written on the cover. The young St. John nearby puts his

The sentence written in these two paintings is drawn from the Song of Songs 5: 2. It is usually interpreted in the Middle Ages to mean a withdrawal from the world through sleep so that the mind may contemplate God.⁹ In the paintings, where it is explicitly Christ that speaks, the words must have a special connotation. Despite sleep Christ, the Good Shepherd, is vigilant. The reference to salvation which is explicit in Tura's panel seems implied in Neri's as well. This painting then also, as I have said of Tura's, alludes "to redemption and to that problem with which the Quattrocento was so greatly occupied, the relationship, or rather the co-existence, of the human and the divine."

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE CHURCH PROGRAM OF MICHELANGELO'S MEDICI CHAPEL

E. TIETZE-CONRAT

Writers on Michelangelo have always encountered difficulties in interpreting the decoration of the Medici Chapel. In the first place the decoration was never brought to completion; the work dragged on for a very long time during which the original program underwent repeated modification; the documents give no clue as to the underlying idea. An added source of confusion, as I see it, is the fact that the comments on the idea of the decoration came from a period considerably later than the work on the principal figures, and were made moreover by intellectuals absorbed in literary and aesthetical questions and whose natural ambition was to find their own approach confirmed by the work of art and to explain it in literary terms. Michelangelo himself followed the same line of approach. What he formulated in his poems, what he told Condivi to write, is interpretation after the event. At the time when he conceived the figures, the commission from outside and his own inner reaction to the order had to work out in a compromise. When he later looked back at his conceptions which had become a landmark within his production and a starting point for new ideas, he dealt with them as exclusively his own. He saw and interpreted them as they now appeared to him.¹

fingers to his lips to enjoin silence.

9. See for example Gregory the Great in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 79, col. 518 or Isidore of Seville, *op. cit.*, vol. 83, col. 1125. "Dormit tunc sensualitas, sed vigilat ratio . . .," Richard of St. Victor says (*op. cit.*, vol. 196, col. 501).

1. In this point I am in opposition to the authorities on Michelangelo who consider the lines inscribed on the drawing Frey 162 as Michelangelo's "program" for his *Day and Night*. According to Frey himself Michelangelo wrote them before drawing the architectural details on the sheet. And the latest author to examine "The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel" (Frederick Hartt, in *Essays in honor of Georg Swarzenski*, Berlin 1952) says that these "jottings are apparently intended to crystallize in the artist's mind portions of the allegorical structure to which he was to give plastic embodiment." Hartt translates the inscription as follows: "Night and Day are speaking and saying, we have without our swift course brought to death the Duke Giuliano; it is just that he pay

All of these subsequent interpretations are of utmost importance in grasping the spiritual world of the era and, within it, that of Michelangelo.

He always conceived his ideas on the basis of Renaissance conceptions, but, not content with this solution, was in each case again and again impelled to recreate his works according to his new ideas (Tolnay). As the center of these "ideas on the basis of Renaissance conceptions" the study of Michelangelo in these last decades has established the neoplatonic approach. But had neoplatonic thinking completely won over the leaders of Catholicism? Does not the reign of Adrian VI interpolated between the two Medici popes offer evidence that along with the initiates there still existed those who refused to accept the fusion of Christianity and Greek philosophy and who followed the classic tradition quite unconsciously. In the case of the Medici Chapel the concrete question is: what was the program that a prince of the church and the adviser of Pope Leo X in this matter, had laid out for the funerary chapel of their family in the church of San Lorenzo? What was the wording from which Michelangelo had to start?

Ever since Anny E. Popp² linked Michelangelo's drawing of the Resurrection to the decoration of the Medici Chapel, great stress has been laid on its dedication.³ The Phoenix and Pelican which adorned the candlesticks are symbols of the Resurrection.⁴ In the poem of Honorius Venantius "De Resurrectione" the awakening earth praises the Resurrection of Christ after His descent to the Tartarus—replaced in the Chapel by the Rivers of Hades in the bottom zone—and the Resurrection of Christ passes on into that of all mankind. It will be a bodily Resurrection in which the Capitani are to receive their judgment.

The earliest known homily,⁵ the second epistle of Pope Clement I, lays the main emphasis on the Resurrection in the flesh: "And let not anyone of you say that this flesh is not judged neither risen again, understand ye. In what did you recover your sight. . . . Each person shall be judged in flesh and will receive recom-

pense as reward."⁶ There is no direct evidence that manuscripts of the letters of Clement I were known in the sixteenth century, but the essential substance of the above-mentioned poem of Venantius and passages in Lactantius allow the inference that they had survived in some form. Clement was the first to introduce the legend of the Phoenix into Christian writing. He lists it in his first letter to the Corinthians as the third proof for the truth of the Resurrection of Christ.

For our purposes the first proof is of supreme importance: "Let us consider, beloved, how the Master continually proves to us that there will be a future Resurrection of which He has shown the first fruit by raising the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. . . . Let us look, beloved, at the Resurrection which takes place at its proper season. Day and night show us a Resurrection. The night sleeps, the day arises, the day departs, night comes on."⁷ Here four times of the day corresponding to the four phrases quoted are introduced as offering the first argument for the truth of the Resurrection. Their representation was, in my opinion, the essence of the commission to Michelangelo. Writers on the Chapel all agree that the times of the day formed part of the program from the very beginning.

Clement's second argument is the story of the seed. Grains are sown "and they fall on to the ground (1), parched and bare, and suffer decay (2); then from their decay the greatness of the providence of the Master raises them up . . . from one grain more grow (3) and bring forth fruit (4)." The second argument may have provided the subject for the representations in the four squares in the later abandoned project in which Anny E. Popp conjectured the four seasons.

Thus, in my opinion, the church program proposed to Michelangelo consisted in an enumeration of the proofs for the Resurrection going back in some way or other to Clement's letter to the Corinthians. It was intended to offer evidence for the Resurrection in the flesh of the Princes buried here and represented seated as living persons and not recumbent as customarily. I

revenge upon us as he does, and the revenge is this: that we having slain him, he thus dead has taken the life from us and with closed eyes has fastened ours so that they may shine forth no more upon the earth. What would he have done with us then while he lived." It is in fact as Frey calls it on p. 79, an extremely odd idea ("eine fürchterlich verschraubte Vorstellung") to have Duke Giuliano with closed eyes seal the eyes of *Day* and *Night* so that they will never lighten the earth. Those lines do not contain any striking feature of the two figures which the artist might have used as a program. They offer a literary interpretation as indicated by the introductory words: *parlano e dicono*, my figures say and declare. I mentioned above that in Frey's opinion the script was the first to be on the sheet. This seems unlikely. According to Frey the sheet belongs together with his number 163 as made evident by the measurements and the margins. Frey does not say to what margins he refers. Moreover 163 is evidently reproduced in reverse. When it is turned around the shadow beneath the tori and the profiles which are oriented to the left as on no. 162 match exactly. Imagining the original sheet as a whole and without the architectural drawings, we can hardly believe that anybody would start writing in the right half and extend the lines nearly up to the edge of the paper. In my opinion, the profiles drawn in sanguine were there first, including the

calculation—*cento ottanta sexto*—written with the same sanguine and corresponding to similar calculations, for instance on Frey 174. Later on, Michelangelo made use of an empty space to put down his inscription. The intention to place the times of the day on the sepulchres, however, belongs to the original set of ideas, while the architectural decoration of the wall belongs to a later stage. This corroborates the theory expressed by Frey that the inscribed lines are a prose draft of a poem.

2. Anny E. Popp, *Die Medici-Kapelle Michelangelo's*, Munich, 1922.

3. Charles De Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, III, Princeton, 1948, p. 49: "This theme fits well with the consecration of the chapel to the Resurrection."

4. Honorius Augustodunensis (+ 1130) quoted by Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1928) I, p. 87. The meaning of the Phoenix on the candlestick has been recognized by Tolnay while he connected the Pelican with "Sacrifice."

5. Calvin Klopp Staudt, *The Idea of the Resurrection in the Ante-Nicean Period*, Dissertation, Chicago, 1909, pp. 23f.

6. The Apostolic Fathers, Loeb Classics, Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

7. The Apostolic Fathers, *loc.cit.*, I, 51ff.

am unable to find any hint to why Giulio de' Medici adopted the name of Clement upon his election to the papacy. Since there is no reason to assume that he was interested in any of the subsequent popes of this name, it may indeed have been the first, canonized, bearer of the name to whom he wanted to pay homage. Tolnay's explanation of the reorientation of the altar so that the celebrating priest faced the Chapel, may gain a deeper meaning: "It was perhaps the wish of the pope and cardinal that the altar be like the one in the old St. Peter's Basilica." Besides St. Peter, also San Clemente and other early-Christian churches in Rome retained the original arrangement which otherwise had become obsolete after the year 1000, when the priest celebrated mass turning his back to the congregation.⁸ Could it have been San Clemente instead of old St. Peter the altar arrangement of which the Chapel was meant to follow? It would have been an additional homage to the papal patron to whom the cardinal owned the program for the Chapel.

NEW YORK CITY

DRAWINGS ATTRIBUTED TO CORREGGIO AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART¹

CHARLOTTE HEATON-SESSIONS

Perhaps one of the most confused problems in the entire field of drawings is the identification of the drawings of Antonio Allegri, generally referred to as Correggio. No definitive study on this subject has ever been published and one must await the appearance of Mr. A. E. Popham's catalogue for a guide to this nearly unsurveyed field. Meanwhile I offer the following study, begun before the announcement of Mr. Popham's work, a study of only the merest fragment of the subject, the five drawings attributed to Correggio at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Metropolitan attributions are all honored by time, two traceable to the seventeenth century Peter Lely collection, a third to the late eighteenth, and the remaining two to the nineteenth century. The only one of these drawings which can, I believe, be attributed with any certainty to the hand of the master is the drawing of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 1).

In the first place this small drawing (3 3/4 x 6 13/16 in.) has been squared for enlargement, and a fresco of the identical composition, painted in 1522, is preserved in the gallery at Parma. Although the fresco is in badly damaged condition, a striking similarity between fresco and drawing may be discerned in the manner in which the different media have been handled. Thus the drawing, executed in red chalk, white gouache and grey wash, might be described as a

miniature realization in monochrome of the fresco, achieving the same mood through a comparably strong and equally blended chiaroscuro, qualities which are found in this fresco as well as in the artist's other and better known frescoes. Moreover the drawing is unmistakably high in quality, and, notwithstanding its present rubbed and somewhat damaged condition, a freshness one does not find in a copy after a fresco clearly asserts itself.

The Metropolitan *Annunciation* is, however, unique in technique among the drawings reasonably attributed to Correggio, although a number of drawings achieve a similar chiaroscuro effect by chalk alone. Among these, the red chalk study in the Louvre for the *Coronation of the Virgin*, although several times the size of the *Annunciation*, comes perhaps closest in style. This study, unlike the *Annunciation*, is that of only a single figure to be used in a larger composition.

This uniqueness of technique can partly, at least, be explained by the very special aim of the drawing of the *Annunciation*, the aim to record the impression of the entire intended composition, its mood, lights and darks, and in considerable detail in order to serve as a model for enlargement. It is possible that the artist prepared other working drawings of larger size, but it is conceivable that Correggio worked directly on the fresco from this small drawing.

The four other drawings which came into the Metropolitan collection under Correggio's name, bear no such easily demonstrable relation to the master's known paintings, nor to generally accepted drawings.

Among these four, the *Adoration* (11 7/16 x 7 5/8 in.) most closely resembles the acceptable *Annunciation* in media and in technique, red chalk touched with white, although the emphatic grey wash of the latter is missing (Fig. 5). The style of drawing found here is totally different. As to purpose, this drawing may also be classified as a preparation for a painting, in a less advanced stage than the *Annunciation*, since much of the background is indicated by only a few sketchy lines.

A comparison of the *Adoration* with paintings of the same or similar subjects from Correggio's work does not yield any but the most superficial similarity of figure style and mood, and suggests only likenesses due to locale and period. The type of figure portrayed is not in Correggio's repertory at any point in his career. The Madonna, with her un-Correggionesque, high-bridged nose, and with her heavy, bulkily-draped figure, lacks the customary girliness; the characteristic, tousled locks of the Child are missing; and the degree of exaggeration of the spheroid head of the king who lifts his crown is not to be found in Correggio's known paintings. Indeed, this figure, as well as the profile Madonna, strongly suggest a reliance on Dürer woodcuts,

8. Joseph Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, Munich, 1924, I, p. 411.

1. A part of the following material was presented in a paper read at the annual Symposium on the History of Art sponsored by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the Frick Collection, in March of 1952.

I am indebted to Professor Martin Weinberger of New York University for many helpful suggestions during the research and presentation of this subject, and to Mr. Theodore Heinrich of the Metropolitan Museum for his interest in my material and his very kind advice on portions of the manuscript.

a deficiency in originality which one does not expect to find in Correggio. The two standing kings lack the structural firmness one finds in the paintings. There is an uncertain, niggling character in composition, figures, and quality of line which one does not expect from a master at any period in his career.

One must also take exception to the ambiguity of perspective of the architecture, confused by what appears to be a roof projecting from the rear wall but seen from a vantage point far to the right of the limits of the picture.

On the combined counts of poor quality and the specific anomalies mentioned, it seems necessary to me to remove the *Adoration* from the work of Correggio. Although I am unable to make a convincing attribution to another, it is worth noting that Corrado Ricci who knew north Italian painting well, wrote in his monograph on Correggio published in 1930 that this drawing might well be the work of Giacinto Bertola.²

Equally on the grounds of poor quality one might reject a second of the remaining four drawings, the *Sketch for a Trophy* (12 3/4 x 8 1/4 in.) (Fig. 6), executed exclusively in red chalk. Here, however, I am prepared to demonstrate an attribution to another artist, to Correggio's son, Pomponio Allegri who lived until 1593.

Concerning the manner in which the medium is used, there is no similarity between this drawing and the drawing of the *Annunciation*; and the differences of purpose in the two drawings, the one obviously only a preliminary sketch for a decoration, scarcely needs comment.

A loose and inept quality characterizes the *Sketch for a Trophy*, with the unstable composition held together only by the swirling, too freely drawn lines. No single item emerges with any clarity, and the physical reality of the putti is scarcely realized.

For comparison with known paintings by Correggio, one may look at the playful boys of Correggio's fresco at San Paolo which dates from the very beginning of his career, painted when he was twenty-four (Fig. 4), and at the two putti from the *Danae* in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, of 1532, just two years before his death (Fig. 3). The muscular robustness of the first and the mellowed firmness of the latter show no real similarity to the putti of the Metropolitan *Sketch*. In a comparison which is perhaps fairer, since its purpose is also purely decorative, the putti from the chiaroscuro frieze of the cupola of the Duomo (Fig. 2), painted by the assistants of Correggio, or in a comparison with the nude figures which support the garlands in the back of the *Madonna of St. George* of about 1530, conceived surely by Correggio but perhaps also painted by assistants, one can find some family resemblance to the putti of the *Sketch*. The anatomy of all these figures is a similar combination of liveliness and bonelessness.

Certain features of the drawing, however, the rather small heads, the overdeveloped muscles, especially of the sturdy calves of the legs which disappear into in-

substantial ankles and feet, surely point to a later period in the century than is conceivable by the early death of Correggio in 1534.

In Parma, where Correggio's major work was done, the period just after the middle of the century was particularly poor in artists of rank. In 1565, his immediate followers had all died, with the exception of Girolamo Mazzola-Bedoli who had by this time ceased active work.

In 1559 Correggio's only son, Pomponio Allegri, a painter of uncertain merit, had moved from Correggio to Parma to seek commissions from the former patrons of his father; and in 1560 the *signoria* had awarded him a contract for the painting of frescoes in a chapel in the Cathedral. These still survive, in a damaged and repainted condition, but one can judge from the remains what kind of painter Pomponio was (Fig. 7). He was scarcely twelve years of age when his father died, and therefore little direct influence can be claimed. He must have been artistically educated by his father's followers, the same artists who were responsible, for the execution at least, of some of the decorative features in Correggio's frescoes and paintings.

The main figure of the fresco, Moses, who is represented on Mt. Sinai, is derived from Parmigianino's Moses from Santa Maria della Steccata, and a faint echo of this far abler artist manages to come through. A comparison between the angelic beings at the upper left of the fresco with the putti of the *Sketch*, and a comparison of the figures of the elders at the right with the sketchy figure of the seated old man with the child in the *Sketch* reveals considerable similarity.

Shortly after, probably before 1565, Pomponio painted the vault of one bay in the south aisle of the Cathedral, and one of four similar groups which adorn the voussours is illustrated in Figure 9. Here one can see similarities also to the drawing under discussion in the proportions of the figures, in their rather mannered postures, in such details as the hair blown back in wispy locks, and even in the floral decorations, to comparable features in the drawing under discussion.

A glance at Pomponio's paintings, most of which are very old attributions, shows even closer resemblances. In the *Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John* (Fig. 10), one of his best, in the Pinacoteca at Parma, one can see a striking resemblance in the St. John to one of the upper figures of the *Sketch*. In the *Charity* at Ravenna (Fig. 8), the entire composition, rising in an unstable pile, is not unlike the structure of the *Sketch for a Trophy*; and the conception may be said to be also primarily decorative. The manner in which the infant at the lower left raises his boneless arm above his head is echoed in the *Sketch* in the lower left figure which supports the urn, and also in the two topmost figures. One may note also a similarity in the treatment of the draperies.

I believe that an attribution on purely stylistic grounds is justified; but it is interesting to note that the facts of the painter's life are consistent with the designing of

2. Corrado Ricci, *Correggio*, Rome, 1930, p. 165.

such a trophy. Pomponio was employed twice by the *signoria* for paintings on the exterior of the Palazzo Pubblico. Once he was employed in the decorations of the fireplace of the *sala* of the Palazzo, and there is record of payment for the gold leaf used.³ In 1565 he is reported to have made the decorations to celebrate the wedding of Maria of Portugal to Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, a wedding which took place in Brussels, however, so that the decorations must have been occasioned by the subsequent arrival of the couple in Parma. Documents record that Pomponio was employed in 1577 on the painting of the catafalque for Maria, and in 1593, in the last year of his life, he worked on the catafalque for the great general himself.

An examination of the details of the *Sketch for a Trophy* reveals certain symbols which point to a marriage: the turtle at its base, an attribute of Venus, the putti, one clearly winged, the covered urn and the cornucopia as symbols of abundance, and the satyr lending a note of festivity; then the cross, and finally the sealed book which the two upper putti support, alluding to chastity.

The style represented here can be safely related to Pomponio's fresco style of 1560 to 1565 (Figs. 7 & 9), and the latter is the year of the Farnese wedding. Can the winged staff of Mercury in the *Sketch* be related to the news of a distant wedding, and does the cuirass take on special meaning as being a proper attribute for a great general? This interpretation seems possible although no proof may be offered at present. No extant descriptions of the marriage decorations at Parma are known; and the *Sketch for a Trophy* may at best represent a tentative or minor drawing for those decorations.

This, to be sure, lies in the field of speculation but I believe the attribution to Pomponio, the son of Antonio Allegri, to be sound. Since Pomponio was the heir to his father's fortune, presumably including his drawings, it seems understandable that a confusion between the drawings of father and son, where the remotest similarity existed, could easily have occurred.⁴

For the remaining chalk drawing (7 3/4 x 5 7/8 in.) owned by the Metropolitan Museum, the *Nude Child Surrounded by Putti and Women* (Fig. 12), I believe one can also make an attribution to another artist; in this case to an artist who was perhaps the most faithful although one of the latest of the followers of Correggio. That artist is Carlo Cignani of Bologna, 1628-1719.

This drawing is again a rough preliminary sketch for a composition, deftly but carelessly done in red chalk with the putto who holds up a tambourine brought to some degree of plastic modeling by emphasis in black chalk. Without recourse to the uncertain drawings of putti and madonnas which have been attributed to Correggio, including several other drawings of an equally careless appearance, but again by comparison

to the certain paintings, obvious anomalies of rendering the human figure may be found.

The agile muscularity of the infants in the foreground is not Correggiquesque; and neither the heads drawn in a continuous oval, nor the device of the tiny c for the ears is ever found in Correggio's paintings. There is a post-Carracci look about the whole drawing, and the face of the standing child is positively Bolognese.

Cignani's paintings abound in mother and child representations, and the putti for his fresco of the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the chapel at Forlì alone must equal nearly one hundred. The two paintings of *Charity* of Figures 11 and 14 show similar figure types to those of the drawing; and in the smaller painting measuring only 13 x 16 in., from the Lovre Pinacotheca, the child at the left who scrambles onto the woman's lap, and the c-shaped ear of the latter are especially to be noticed (Fig. 11). In the *Charity* (Messinger Collection) (Fig. 14), of about 1665, we see striking similarities in the oval head and in the c of the ear of the infant at the left; and the fair-haired child at the top of the triangle has the same type of face and hair as the standing child of the Metropolitan drawing. Certain other similarities, the diagonal placement of figures, and the relaxed hands, go further than what might be expected merely from identity of types and periods. A third painting by Cignani, the overdoor putti from San Michele in Bosco, outside Bologna, of 1665, show again the same soft but sturdy figures, and one can imagine that the standing figure in the Metropolitan drawing was developed for some similar subject (Fig. 13).

Among the many drawings by Cignani in various museums, I have been able to secure reproductions of three which are consistent in purpose with the Metropolitan *Nude Child*, each a preliminary sketch for a composition; and one of these is executed in black chalk (Figs. 15, 16, & 18).

The pen and wash drawing in the Darmstadt Museum (Fig. 15) shows lines and shortcut devices for the rendering of hands, feet, and heads, which, in view of the difference in medium, are not inconsistent for the artist of the Metropolitan drawing. A study for *St. Anthony and the Christ Child* (Fig. 16), an attributed drawing which figured in an Amsterdam sale of 1922, is also consistent with the work of the same artist. The black chalk drawing of the *Rape of Europa* (Figs. 18 & 17) is shown in a lithograph published in 1829, in the catalogue of the Denon collection, the present location of the original drawing being unknown to me. A transformation of style in the lithographic copy toward nineteenth century taste is undeniable, and one could wish for more of Cignani and less of Ingres. Yet if character of line cannot be held infallible, placement of line can scarcely be doubted, and a comparison of the drawing seen in the detail (Fig. 17) with the

3. Corrado Ricci, "Pomponio Allegri," *Bollettino d'Arte*, Feb. 1931, pp. 337-355. The author cites documents pertaining to Pomponio and summarizes contents.

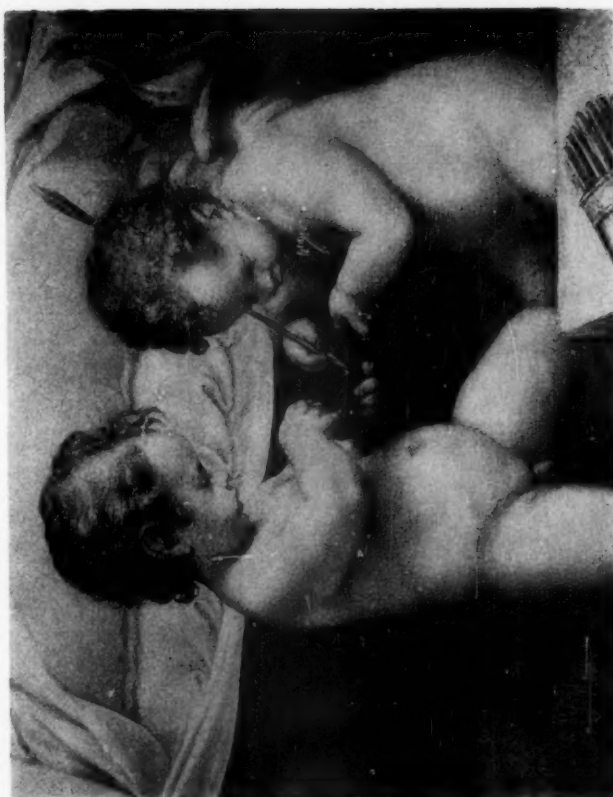
4. Ricci, in *Correggio*, p. 164, withdraws the *Sketch for a Trophy* from Correggio's work, and describes it as confused in conception and faulty in execution.



1. Correggio. *Annunciation*. Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art



2. Correggio. Decorative figure from fresco. Parma, Duomo



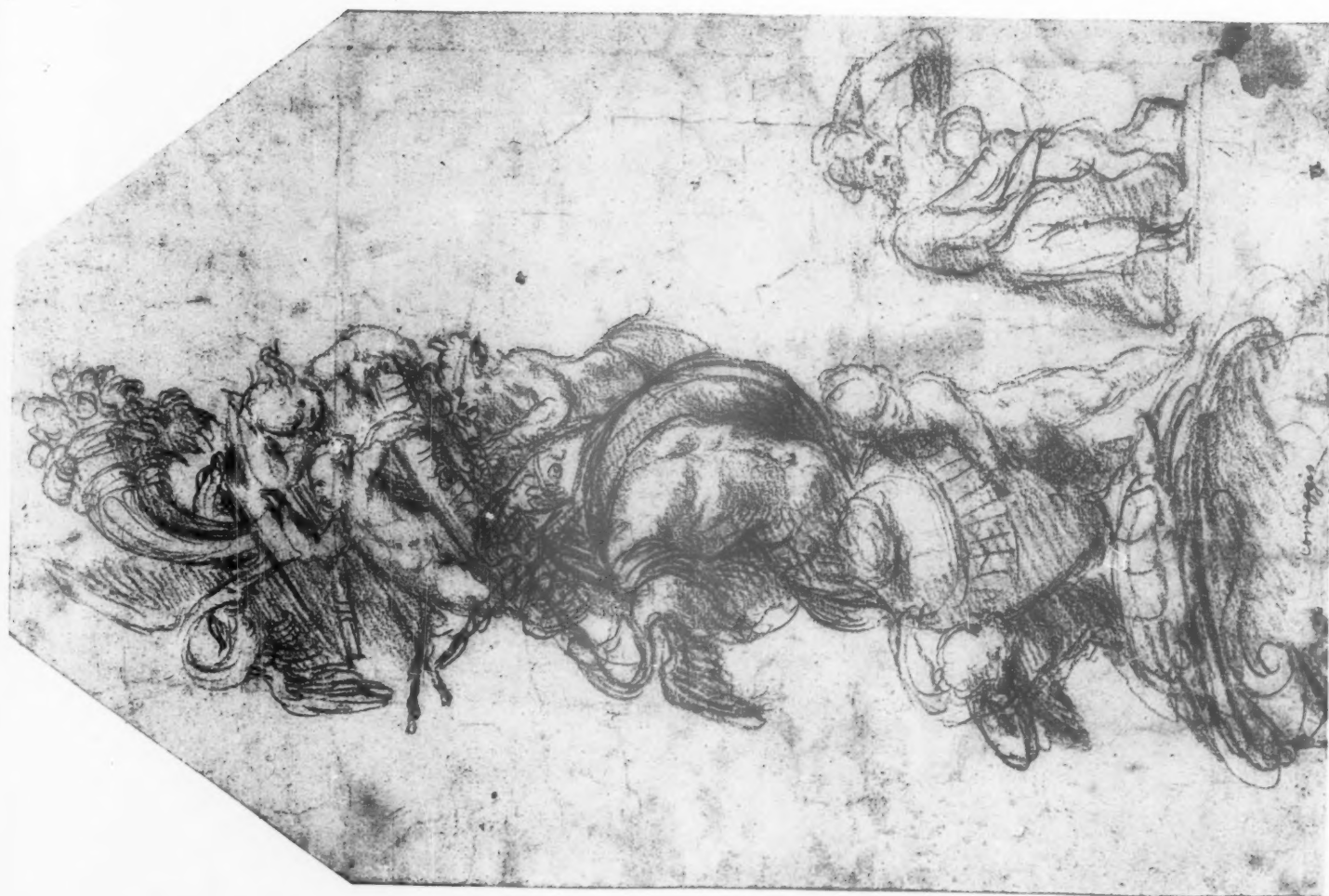
3. Correggio. *Danae* (detail). Rome, Borghese Gallery



4. Correggio. Detail from fresco. Parma, San Paolo



5. *Adoration*, formerly attributed to Correggio
 Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art



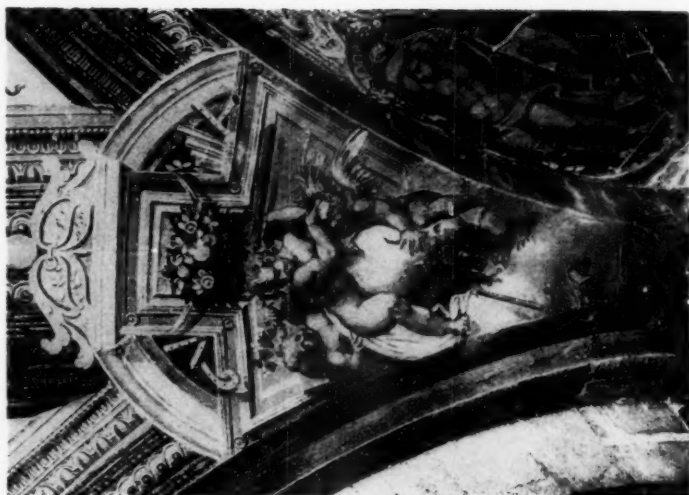
6. *Sketch for a Trophy*, here attributed to Pomponio Allegri
 Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art



7. Pomponio Allegri. *Moses on Mt. Sinai*. Fresco. Parma, Duomo



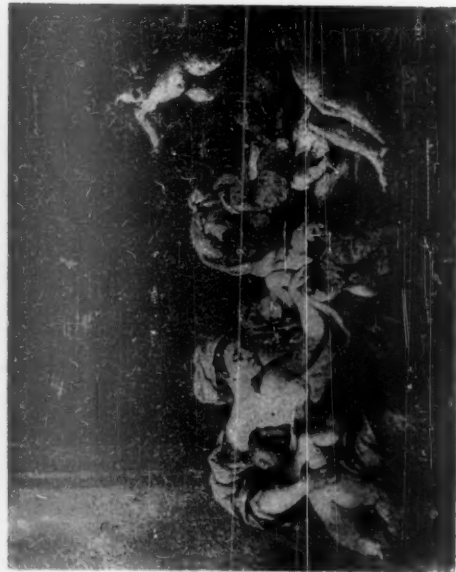
8. Pomponio Allegri. *Charity*
Ravenina, Accademia di Belle Arte



9. Pomponio Allegri. *Vousoir decoration*
Parma, Duomo



10. Pomponio Allegri. *Virgin and Child with Infant St. John*. Parma, Pinacoteca



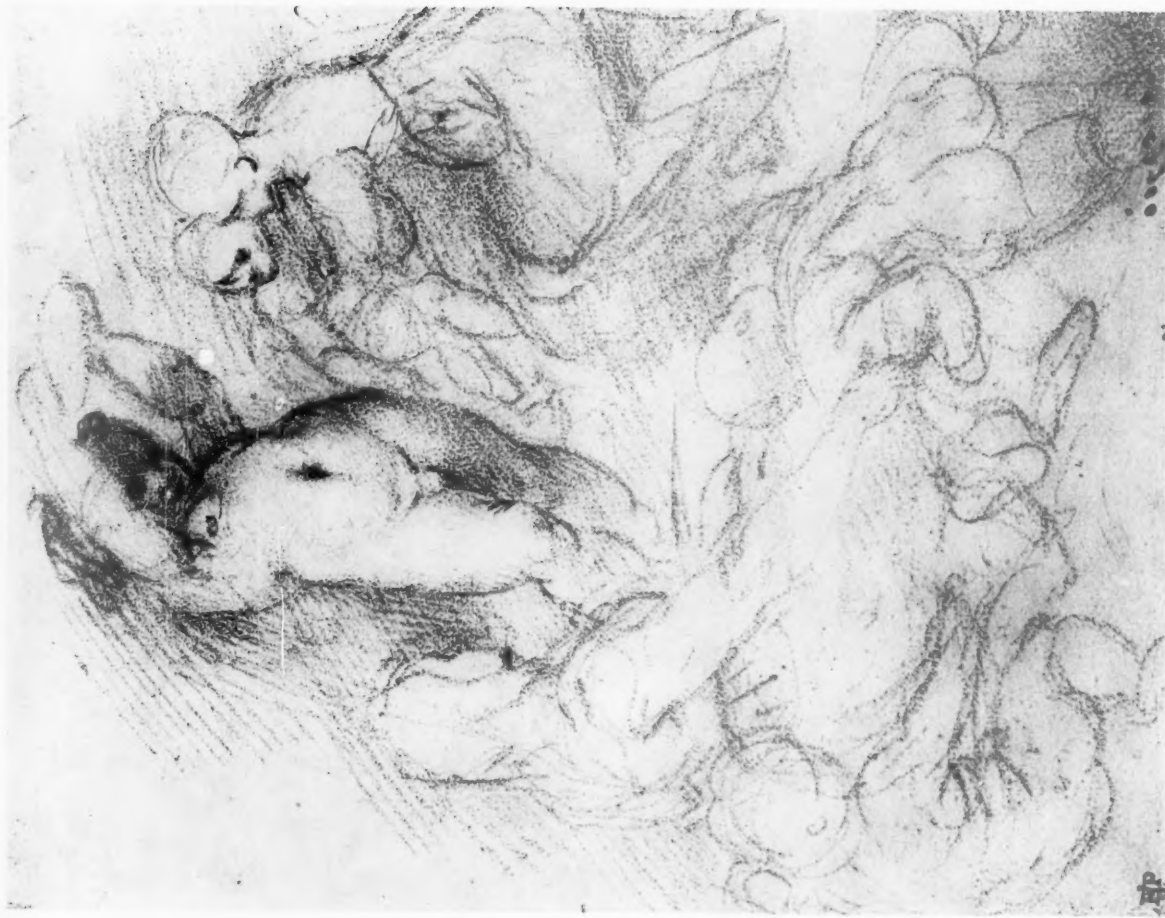
11. Carlo Cignani. *Charity*. Lovere, Pinacoteca
Courtesy of Frick Art Reference Library



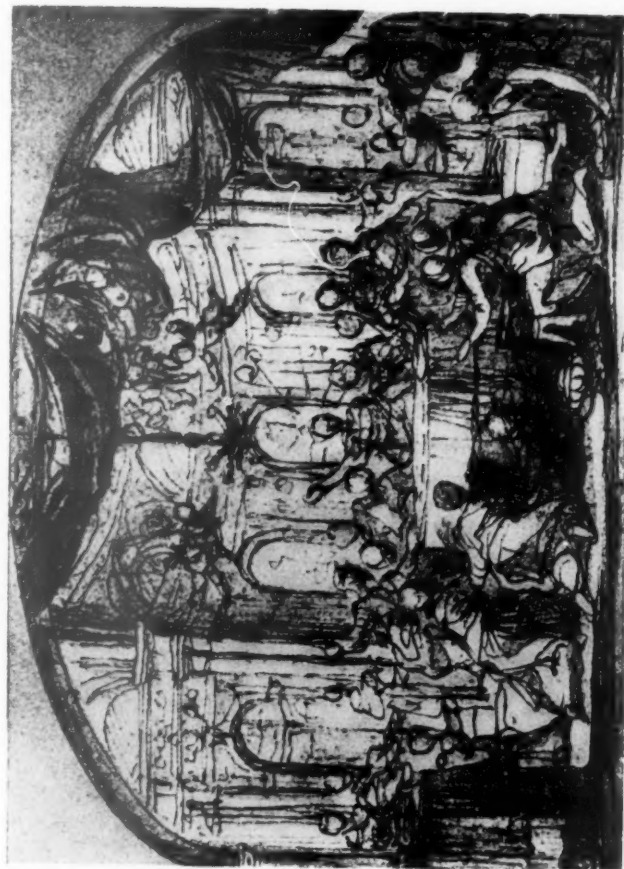
13. Carlo Cignani. *Overdoor decoration*
from S. Michele in Bosco. Bologna



14. Carlo Cignani. *Charity*
Vienna, Messinger Collection, 1913



12. *Nude Child surrounded by Putti and Women*, here attributed to Carlo Cignani
Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art



15. Carlo Cignani. *Christ in the House of the Pharisee*
Darmstadt, Museum



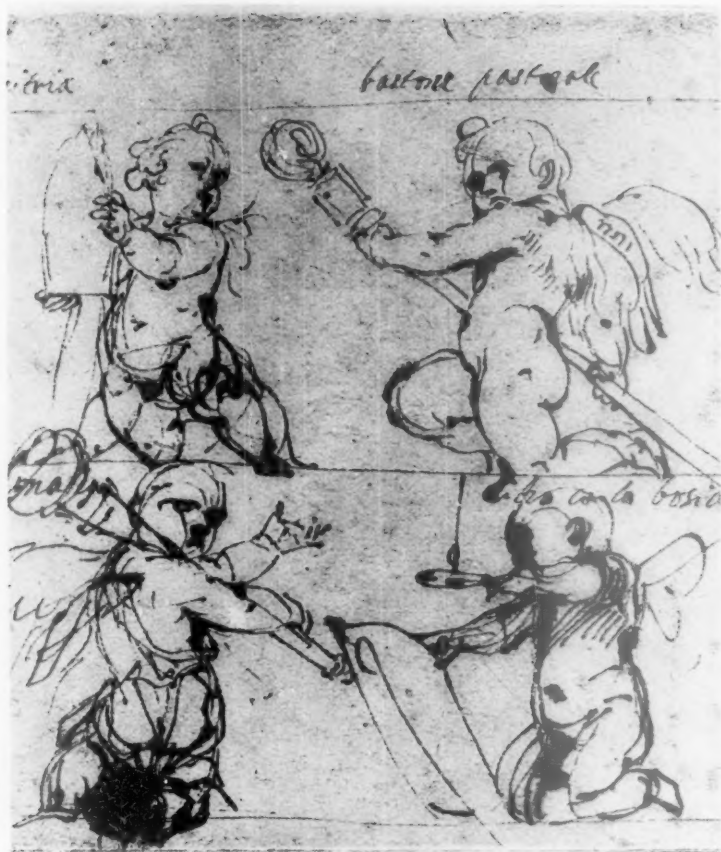
16. Carlo Cignani. *St. Anthony and the Christ Child*. Drawing
Formerly collection of Prince de B.
Amsterdam Sale, 1922



17. Detail of Fig. 18



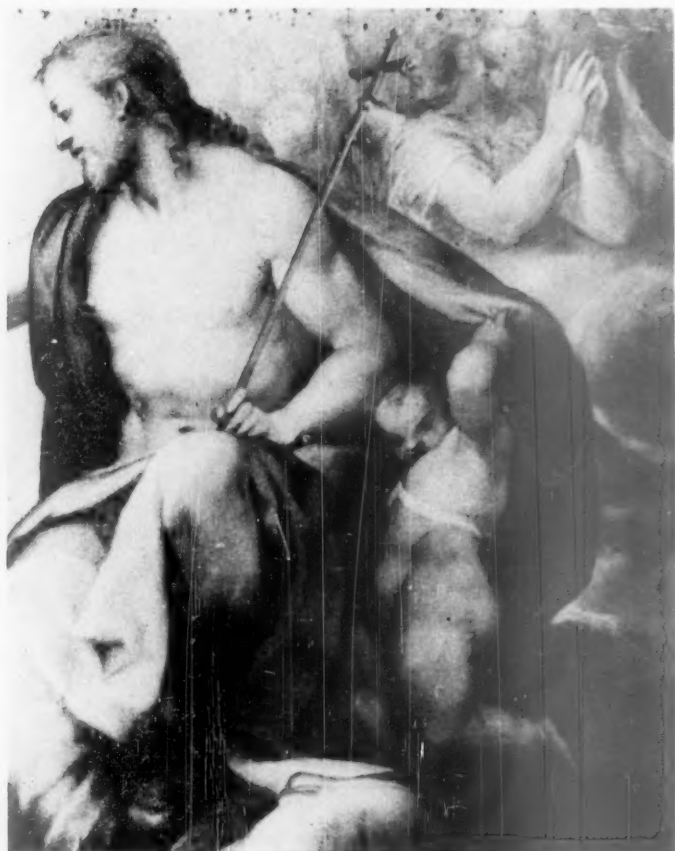
18. Carlo Cignani. Sketch for the *Rape of Europa* (lithograph)
Published in catalogue of the Denon Collection, 1829



19. *Four Cherubs*, here attributed to Orazio Samacchini
Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art



20. Orazio Samacchini. *The Apparition of the Archangel Michael Appearing to St. Gregory* (detail). Courtesy of
Royal Library, Windsor Castle



21. Orazio Samacchini. *Coronation of the Virgin* (detail)
Bologna, Pinacoteca



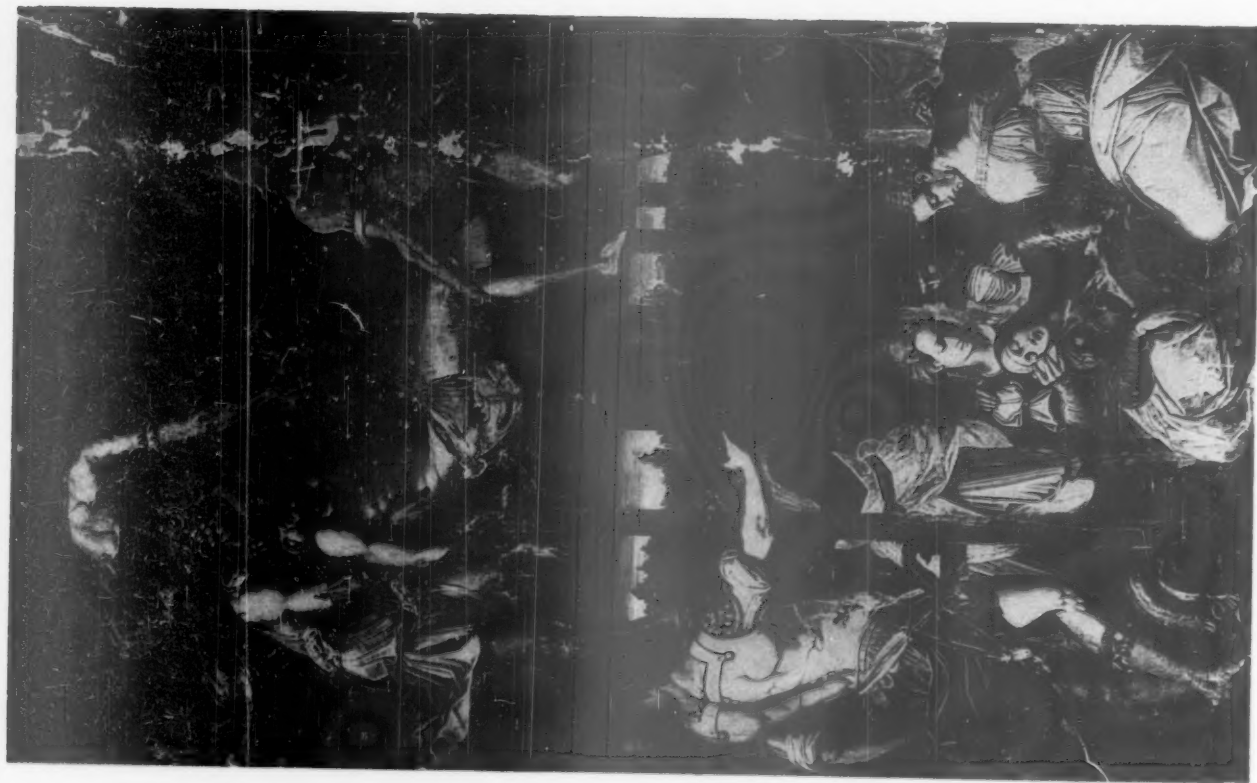
22. Drawing from the Oppenheimer Collection, 1936,
here attributed to Carlo Cignani



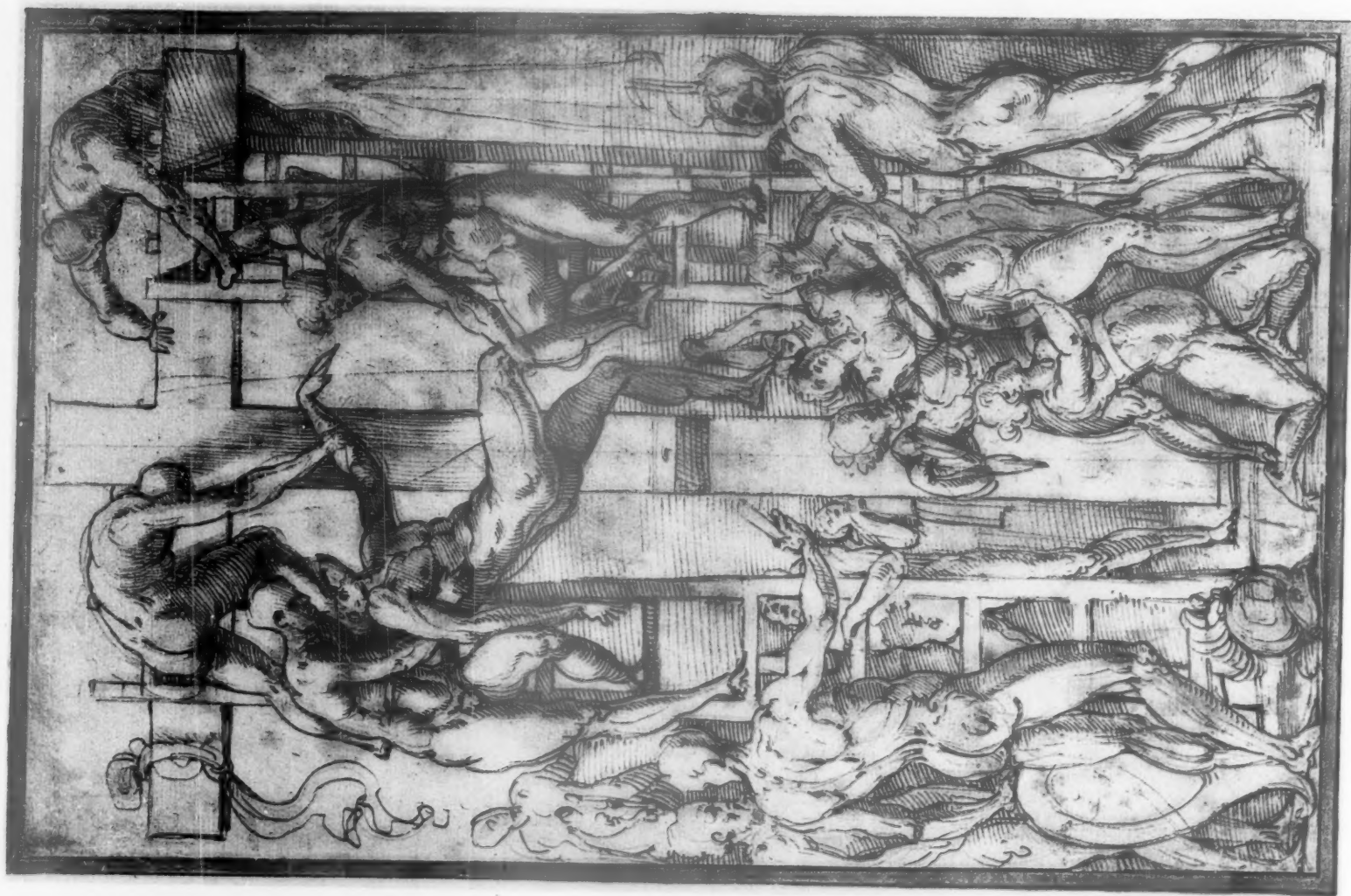
23. Orazio Samacchini. *Madonna with Saints*
Rome, Sta. Maria Maggiore



24. Orazio Samacchini. *Studies for a lunette*. Paris, Louvre



1. Giorgio Vasari. *Deposition*. Arezzo, Chiesa dell'Annunziata



2. Giorgio Vasari. Study for the *Deposition*.
Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum

sketchy figures of the Metropolitan *Nude Child* seems to me to offer convincing proof of the identity of the two artists. The gathers and folds of the garments, the same curiously casual straw-like lines appear in both. The drawing of the *Rape* is certified by the fresco of the same subject, painted by Cignani in 1678-81, differing slightly in compositional details, in the Farnese Palace of the Giardino at Parma, in a room where Agostino Carracci had painted the ceiling at the beginning of the century.

A black chalk drawing (Fig. 22), published in the catalogue of the Oppenheimer collection in 1936 as the work of Correggio, shows a standing putto with arms upraised in a posture similar to the Metropolitan *Nude Child*. Other similarities are apparent, the short curved lines which describe the knees and the legs, the large navel, the soft treatment of the face, shaded by the arms, the parallel lines surrounding the figure, and the summary treatment of both feet and hands. The Oppenheimer drawing was listed by Ricci, in the monograph referred to above, among the works falsely attributed to Correggio. Ricci described the drawing as "Puttino con le braccia alzate," and assigned it to Carlo Cignani.⁵ Mr. K. T. Parker, who wrote the descriptions in the Oppenheimer catalogue, retains the old attribution to Correggio, and, in acknowledging Ricci's attribution to Cignani, doubts that the drawing Ricci described as "putto with hand raised" can be the identical drawing.⁶ A comparison of the descriptive passages in the Italian and English versions of Ricci's *Correggio* reveals a mistranslation in the English version which must be responsible for Mr. Parker's doubt that Ricci had this drawing in mind; for "Puttino con le braccia alzate" is translated as "putto with hand raised," surely a misleading description of the Oppenheimer putto, in place of the correct translation "Putto with arms raised." It may be remarked, however, that no other drawing ascribed to Correggio in the Oppenheimer catalogue fits either description.

A comparison of the Oppenheimer drawing with the Cignani paintings and drawings here reproduced, and with a painting, *Amor und Amoretten*, of the Liechtenstein Gallery, certainly makes Ricci's position reasonable, and leaves no doubt in my mind that Cignani's was the hand which drew the Oppenheimer putto. Both in medium and in degree of finish, this drawing is a fair comparison to the Metropolitan drawing, although in scale the Oppenheimer putto is about twice the height of the Metropolitan standing child; and the purpose of each, a preliminary study in the development of a composition, is apparently the same. With this acceptance of Ricci's attribution of the Oppenheimer drawing to Cignani, I conclude my own attribution of the Metropolitan *Nude Child Surrounded by Putti and Women* to Carlo Cignani.

The only remaining drawing (6 3/16 x 5 1/4 in.)

attributed to Correggio at the Metropolitan is executed in pen and bistre, a sheet depicting four putti holding papal attributes (Fig. 19).⁷ For this drawing I believe an attribution to the sixteenth century Bolognese artist, Orazio Samacchini, is made possible by comparison to a drawing at Windsor Castle (Fig. 20).

Mr. Popham has attributed the drawing at Windsor (15 x 10 1/4 in.), representing the *Archangel Gabriel Appearing to St. Gregory*, to Samacchini on the basis of a similarity between the style of this drawing and others which are clearly preparations for authenticated paintings by the same artist; as, for instance, two drawings and their companion frescoes in the north transept of Parma Cathedral where Samacchini worked for a period beginning in 1570. The Windsor drawing is dated by its subject-matter as between 1572 and 1585.⁸

There is no need to be tentative, however, concerning Mr. Popham's attribution, for the group of three putti who seem to present their clerical attributes to the spectator from the lower left foreground of the composition can be found with but little variation in several of Samacchini's paintings.

For example, compare the left figure from the Windsor drawing with his very near cousin who holds up the mitre in the foreground of the painting, *Madonna with Saints*, in Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome (Fig. 23).

The Metropolitan drawing goes under the title, *Four Cherubs*; these figures also hold clerical attributes, and the layout on the page and the written descriptions suggest that the drawing was intended to serve as a model in the preparation of other compositions. A striking similarity in manner between the Metropolitan and the Windsor drawing is apparent, I believe, at once, but surely the close resemblances in the details of the putti of the two drawings make a relationship undeniable.

In the more finished Windsor drawing, executed in pen, brown ink, and brown wash over black chalk, the putti seem to combine and reverse various features of the four cherubs in the Metropolitan drawing, exactly as one would expect in a composition which had used a rather standardized working-sketch, as the Metropolitan sheet might be described, for a model. It is interesting to note also that the scale of the four cherubs of the Metropolitan drawing is exactly the same as the putti in the drawing at Windsor, the latter perhaps a composition for a painting which would have been finally painted on a larger scale.

A drawing by Samacchini in the Louvre (Fig. 24) offers a closer comparison, as to technique, with the Metropolitan *Four Cherubs*, for only slight touches of wash have been used in addition to the pen; and it is to be regretted that no such approximation in subject matter can be found, for we are comparing the drawing of adult figures to that of putti.

5. Ricci, *Correggio*, p. 165.

6. K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of Drawings of the Oppenheimer Collection*, London, 1936, no. 71, p. 39.

7. Ricci, *Correggio*, p. 164, makes no attribution but places this drawing at a later period than Correggio's lifetime, revers-

ing an opinion of 1901, where he had attributed the drawing to Correggio.

8. A. E. Popham, and J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings of the XIV and XV Century at Windsor*, London, 1949, p. 330. Illustration, fig. 175, cat. no. 910.

Although we are dealing with a period of *clichés* in figure drawing, and it is difficult to extract the characteristics of one hand from the characteristics of the period, I believe that one may observe resemblances which contribute to the evidence already presented. One sees a similarity in the character of the pen strokes used in the two drawings, delineating contours in repetitive lines, sometimes without lifting the pen, now loaded with ink, now faint. Both drawings employ occasional hatching, sometimes a column of short lines as appear in the lap of the lower left figure in the Louvre drawing, and on the back of the upper right figure of the Metropolitan drawing; or the hatching may consist of a group of longer lines as those just above the knee of the same figure in the Louvre drawing, and on the chest and under the arm of the lower right figure of the Metropolitan drawing. Facial features in the two drawings are indicated by similar devices, with the emphasis on shadows. Feet are drawn in a comparable manner, but perhaps the greatest similarity is to be seen in the rendering of hands.

I believe it is reasonable to attribute the three drawings discussed above, the Metropolitan *Four Cherubs*, the Windsor drawing, and the Louvre drawing (Figs. 19, 20, and 24), to the same hand; and that differences are only the understandable results of differing purpose, subject matter, and media.

Figure 21 shows another example of the use of the Metropolitan drawing for a painting, in a detail from Samacchini's *Coronation of the Virgin*, where, on the right, a kneeling putto lifts the mantle of Christ.

The origin of the attribution of the Metropolitan *Four Cherubs* to Correggio must lie in what was most probably Samacchini's original inspiration, Correggio's frescoes at San Giovanni at Parma of the *Coronation of the Virgin*, preserved today in a copy. When Samacchini came to Parma in 1570 he could scarcely have failed to see the original fresco with the little nude figures in various postures, holding up mitres and croziers.

[INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY]

VASARI'S DEPOSITION IN AREZZO

BERNICE F. DAVIDSON

"Ecco, zio honorando, le speranze del mondo, i favori della fortuna et l'appoggio del confidare ne principi et i premii delle mie tante fatiche finite in uno spirar di fiato! Ecco il duca Alessandro, mio signore in terra, morto come una fiera dalla crudeltà et invidia di Lorenzo di Pier Francesco, suo cugino! Piango insieme con tutti e sua servitori l'infelicità sua, che tante spade, tante armi, tanti soldate pagati, tante guardie, tante

cittadelle fatte non habbino possuto contro una spada sola et contro due sclerati segreti traditori!"¹

With these overwrought and eloquent phrases Vasari announced to his uncle the assassination of his patron, Alessandro de' Medici, one of the most generally despised tyrants of the Italian Renaissance. Vasari's sentiments throughout the letter are strangely mixed and disturbed. Although he was bitter over the collapse of the position he had so carefully built for himself, his reactions were not merely inspired by uneasiness over the future.

There has been a tendency in recent years to doubt Vasari's sincerity in many matters. The artist was, of course, a "self-made" man frequently driven to the hypocrisies of a courtier and the self-justifications of a climber pricked by conscience. But both his behavior and writing testify to a capacity for deep affections, persistent gratitude, and almost fanatic loyalties. His feelings towards Alessandro were evidently not the shallow mask of a politic courtier. Vasari mourned the duke's death in a genuinely personal fashion. At the same time he conceived a sudden violent disgust for the worldliness and insincerity of the court where such treachery and hypocrisy could flourish. The event apparently provoked a psychological crisis and commenced a long period of troubled thought and self-evaluation. Years later he reaffirmed the profound impression the murder had made upon him. In his autobiography he spoke with nostalgia of the quiet weeks spent the following summer at the Calmaldolite monastery in the Casentino and the respite he found there from the strain and doubts that had tormented him.²

Florence in general did not share Vasari's grief. The city was thrown into a state of confusion and jubilation at Alessandro's death. Followers of the late duke felt it expedient to deny ostentatiously their former connections or to remain out of sight. Vasari was among the latter. In the same letter to his uncle he says that he has scattered his possessions among various friends and withdrawn to his rooms to work on two commissions.

One of these commissions was an altarpiece, a *Deposition* for S. Domenico in Arezzo, which had been ordered by the Compagnia del Corpo di Cristo a year earlier on January 3, 1536.³ Since that date Vasari, who became increasingly successful, had probably found little or no time to work on the *Deposition*. The spring of 1536 was especially eventful since he bore much responsibility for the decorations in honor of Charles V's entry into Florence. In that year alone he earned more than three times the amount paid him during the half-dozen preceding years.⁴

In the suspension of official commissions following

1. Letter to Don Antonio Vasari, from Florence, Jan. 9 (10?), 1537 (*Der Literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris*, ed. Karl Frey, Georg Müller, Munich, 1923, p. 75).

2. *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, Sansoni, Florence, 1882, VII, p. 660.

3. "Ricordanze di Giorgio Vasari," ed. Alessandro del Vita, *Il Vasari*, III, 1928, p. 21.

The commission was awarded to him through the generosity

of an older painter, Niccolò Soggi (*Le Opere*, VI, p. 26) in November, 1535 (*Il Vasari*, IV, 1931, p. 66) probably on the basis of a drawing submitted in competition with other artists, among them Giovanni Antonio Lappoli (*Le Opere*, VI, p. 14). The date of the commission as recorded by Vasari is January 3, 1535 (Florentine style).

4. *Ricordanze*, pp. 213-214.

the death of Alessandro, Vasari began working on the *Deposition* which, according to agreement, had to be finished within a year. He complains to his uncle that he is sorry to have undertaken the commission and wishes that he had not bought the wood for the two panels so that he might have an excuse to leave Florence, which was dangerous at present, to go to Rome.⁵

Vasari, who was already famous, or notorious, for the speed with which he executed commissions, seems to have struggled for an unusually long time, several months at least, over the *Deposition*. However, by February of 1537 he had moved to Arezzo to work on the altarpiece which he said would be finished soon if there were no interruptions.⁶ His regrets for having accepted the commission had by then completely vanished and he was thoroughly absorbed by his work which he described enthusiastically in vivid detail to his doctor friend, Baccio Rontini.

"Since I parted from you, I have been in such a state of melancholy over the death of my duke that I have been, and still am, on the verge of losing my mind and it will show in this painting. In it I am representing Christ lowered from the Cross by the Nicodemi. There are four figures on the ladders who with care, diligence and love have removed the nails from Christ's body. One of them, clasping Him at the waist, bears most of the weight. Another, grasping His right leg at the knee, helps support the body so that it may descend well-balanced. One man holding His left arm and climbing down in the same manner as the other two who have started to descend, comes to help them. Still another, who has propped a ladder against the back of the Cross, has arranged a long cloth which forms a sort of loin cloth about Jesus Christ and, holding it in his hand, lets it out little by little, supporting part of the weight. The rest of the cloth is thrown over the Cross and down on the ground is a man who, holding the cloth in his hand, releasing it little by little, lets fall the dead body. Thus are seen these five figures united in lowering their Saviour to give Him a burial more honorable than His death. Our Lady has fallen fainting to the ground with grief while Mary Magdalene and the other three Marys are lamenting their dual sorrow. Saint John, to avoid seeing the cruelty of the impious death of the Lord and Mary's swoon, breaking into tears clasps his hands to his face and thus bowed gives vent to his bitter grief. Then there are the centurions waiting on horseback who after having seen Him entombed will leave the body guarded by the soldiers of Pilate. The sun obscured, the air is thus darkened although in the hills reddened from the sunset is visible still a part of the region of Jerusalem."⁷

Fortunately Vasari's description of the *Deposition* is so complete and precise that it is possible to identify the

altarpiece although it has been moved from its original location and is now in the Annunziata in Arezzo.⁸ Furthermore, a preparatory study for the composition has also survived so that when the visual evidence is examined against the background of Vasari's own letters on the subject we are afforded an extraordinarily clear and intimate glimpse of the artist's process of creation.

The drawing, recently acquired by Hartford where it is ascribed to an anonymous Florentine master, is of particular interest for it provides us with a rare and unusually finished example of Vasari's youthful draughtsmanship.⁹ Because of their eclectic character, many early Vasari paintings and drawings are still confused with the work of other Florentines. Very few have been identified in spite of the fact that Vasari's works are probably better described and documented (by himself) than those of any other Renaissance artist.

The Hartford study, although very close to the finished painting, reveals the artist's indecision over certain portions of the composition. Vasari has not yet established to his satisfaction in the sketch the position of John and the Marys.¹⁰ These figures are drawn in a manner which differs in many respects from the style in the upper part of the drawing. One must conclude that the artist's draughtsmanship varied markedly according to how sure he was of his *invenzione*. Obviously the upper half of the composition, the most difficult portion, was first planned definitively. These figures on the ladders correspond exactly with both the description and the painting itself. In the drawing they are executed in strong relief in a tight, precise manner with few signs of indecision. The centurion is drawn in a very similar fashion except that the forms are not quite as clear-cut and in the articulation of his back, Vasari breaks down occasionally into vague, nervous flourishes. The last traces of the artist's assurance vanish, however, when sketching the right-hand group, which eventually he was to alter, and the centurion on horseback at the middle of the left edge of the drawing. In attempting to decide how to arrange these figures his pen skitters over the paper in fussy, meaningless paths. The forms are very weak and shapeless and their construction is even less convincing than that of the men on the ladders. One might venture to guess that the anatomical problems aroused by these figures provoked his complaint in the same letter to Rontini that in Arezzo, unlike Florence, it was difficult to acquire corpses for study. He suggests that he would be very grateful if Rontini would bring him a book of anatomy. Clearly young Vasari, then only twenty-five, had not yet acquired that skill in *disegno* which he later considered a prerequisite for good artists.¹¹

We do not know exactly when Vasari completed the altarpiece but it was probably not until late spring or

5. Letter cited in note 1, above.

6. Letter to Maestro Baccio Rontini, from Arezzo, February (1537), Frey, p. 80.

7. Translated from Letter to Rontini, Frey, p. 79.

8. I do not know why or when the altarpiece was moved. The identity of the Annunziata painting with the S. Domenico commission is confirmed (but the transferral not explained) in

a footnote by del Vita (*Il Vasari*, IV, 1931, p. 67).

9. Hartford 1951.225. Black crayon, pen and bistre wash. 12 7/8 x 8 1/4 in.

10. A group of the Marys very similar to that in the drawing appears in Vasari's *Christ on the Road to Calvary* in Santa Croce executed towards the end of his career.

11. *Le Opere*, I, p. 172.

early summer of 1537.¹² Obviously a great deal of time, thought and labor had been spent in designing the composition. On these grounds alone one might reasonably challenge the often repeated assertion that Vasari's *Deposition* was based on a cartoon, or at least on a drawing, by Rosso. The tendency has been, in spite of extensive documents on the altarpiece, to confuse it with another commission, a painting for Lorenzo Gamurrini executed almost ten years earlier.¹³ This painting Vasari admits in his autobiography was based on a drawing Rosso made for him but it depicted the Resurrection, not the Deposition.¹⁴

Vasari owned Rosso drawings and it is certainly conceivable, even probable, that some of the figures, particularly those of the upper part of the composition, were directly imitated from the older master's designs. One can point to several specific figures that are borrowed from Rosso motifs. The Christ is very similar to the Christ of the Volterra *Deposition* and even to that of the Borgo Sansepolcro *Pietà*. John (behind the ladder at right and barely visible in the photograph) also comes from the Volterra painting. The man with flying drapery at the top of the left-hand ladder is lifted from a figure in almost exactly that position from the same *Pietà*. From the Città di Castello *Christ in Glory* Vasari has borrowed for his kneeling Magdalene the figure of the female saint at the far right. Furthermore, he took from Rosso the idea of a darkened setting for the scene which he had admired in the *Pietà*.¹⁵

On more general grounds, Rosso's influence is obvious too in the thin, elongated figures with their hard, angular, fragmented drapery. Even in his drawing style, Vasari imitates Rosso's faceted forms and his method of parallel hatching, although his training under Bandinelli was responsible for many of the mannerisms that appear in this drawing. It seems probable too that he had studied Parmigianino's drawings. A figure such as the centurion is strongly reminiscent, for instance, of sketches for the prophet from the *Madonna dal Collo Lungo*.

Rosso was not the only artist who supplied Vasari with ideas for his *Deposition*. We know from his autobiography that he was an indefatigable copyist. By the mid-thirties he must have accumulated a vast reference library of drawings which probably included copies of most of the well-known treatments of the Deposition and the Entombment themes. For instance, there may be some recollection of Mantegna's *Entombment* print in the group with the fainting Virgin, although in the drawing Vasari takes these figures from Raphael. Marcantonio's *Deposition* may have suggested to him the man at the top of the right-hand ladder. From Sodoma's *Deposition*, now in the Siena Academy, which he

praises in his life of Sodoma, Vasari borrowed the man supporting the left-hand ladder.¹⁶ The centurion, whose postures with such mannered and self-conscious elegance, may have been inspired by a Titian prototype.¹⁷ Probably the most influential single composition was Perugino's now ruined *Deposition* in Città della Pieve, not far from Arezzo, which we know from Puligo's several versions of the subject. Three of the men involved in lowering the body are closely modeled after Perugino's and even the figure of Christ is very similar.

One might excuse this immoderate incorporation of artistic quotations as the result of youth and inexperience. The problem of designing a Deposition was undoubtedly the most difficult of all possible assignments. The dilemma of reconciling in a dignified manner an extremely awkward physical situation with a tragic event of spiritual significance had brought to grief better, more seasoned artists than he. It is interesting then to observe that for all his artificial, arbitrary manipulation of forms into rigid, interlocking surface patterns, Vasari has presented in a far more detailed, realistic fashion than any of his predecessors the physical actions required of a Deposition. One finds throughout Vasari's writing and painting, but perhaps never more strikingly than in the Annunziata altar, this seemingly paradoxical insistence upon literal realism combined with an equally firm assertion of the artist's right to embellish and dispose a scene according to the promptings of his intellect and imagination.

Vasari's eclecticism was, of course, not merely the result of the difficulties of this particular commission. It was a habit of mind he never abandoned although his selection of models changed very shortly after he painted the *Deposition*. From Rosso, Bandinelli and other Florentines he soon turned to Raphael, Perino del Vaga and Parmigianino. For all his adulation of Michelangelo, Vasari in his painting wisely drew inspiration from gentler sources which he admired for their *grazia* and *vaghezza*.

The stiffness, dryness, and additive qualities of the *Deposition* certainly reflect the labored, accumulative manner with which it was composed. One feels also that Vasari may have followed the advice he later gave inexperienced artists to draw from figurines dressed in clay-stiffened rags since, unlike living models, these would remain motionless.¹⁸ But while it is undeniable that much of Vasari's painting is tiresome and mechanical, the monotony of the many has blinded us to the few really interesting and original contributions the painter made. Not all his work was produced by mind and hand alone. Occasionally, as after the assassination of Alessandro, Vasari proved himself capable of great depths of feeling which found expression in his art; for

12. "Ricordo come a di 4 d'aprile 1537 sendo in Arezzo per finir la tavola del Corpus Domini. . ." (The italics are mine.) *Ricordanze*, p. 26. By midsummer Vasari had left Arezzo for the Camaldolite abbey.

13. *Ricordanze*, p. 8.

14. *Le Opere*, VII, p. 652.

15. *ibid.*, V, p. 163.

16. *ibid.*, VI, p. 388.

17. The centurion and his companion are clearly related,

although probably not directly, to two figures from Titian's *Sampson and Delilah*, which has survived only in Boldrini's woodcut. Tietze claims Titian's original version of the composition may have been designed in the '20's. (Hans Tietze, *Titian*, Vienna, Phaidon, 1936, II, p. 321.) Probably, however, there was some common source for the motif. Similar figures can be found in North European prints.

18. *Le Opere*, I, p. 170.

the *Deposition* in Arezzo is charged with extraordinary passion. Vasari has communicated an intense state of emotion through these hard, wiry forms with their tight, nervous contours and brittle, angular, metallic drapery. The Deposition theme had gradually developed for the artist a profound and timely significance. He concluded his description to Rontini of the *Deposition* with these words: "Thus while I work, contemplating this divine mystery, that a righteous Son of God died for us so reviled, I ease my own affliction and content

myself living in this quiet poverty which offers me great contentment of the spirit."

Incredible as it seems to us today, Vasari apparently found in the death of Christ a strange and comforting parallel with a more recent assassination. In the large nose and heavy lips of the dead Christ, the painter seems to suggest the features of his lamented patron, the murdered duke, Alessandro de' Medici.

THE FRICK COLLECTION



BOOK REVIEWS

FLORANCE WATERBURY, *Bird-Deities in China*, Ascona, Artibus Asiae, 1952. Pp. 191; 61 pls. \$22.50.

Miss Florence Waterbury's *Bird-Deities in China* does not limit itself, as the title would seem to suggest, to bird-deities, nor indeed, to China proper. She makes a survey of all sorts of animal deities in cultures throughout the world. Here, in Dr. Johnson's words, is "Observation with extensive view . . . from China to Peru"; and, as a result, China suffers somewhat since almost half the volume's 148 pages of text lies outside its domain.

After thorough and exhaustive listings, detailed references, and painstaking analyses, Miss Waterbury comes to the conclusion that animals have been worshiped at an early stage in most cultures. She states, ". . . the purpose of the first three chapters is merely to indicate the nature of the psychogenetic background which is our heritage, the heritage of China, and of humanity everywhere" (p. 1). This statement is amplified by quotations from Jung, to whom she is indebted for her point of view. Miss Waterbury in developing her theme apparently feels able to reconstruct out of her twentieth century background the psychological atmosphere of prehistoric man and offers the following "tentative theory" as to the origin of hunting rites:

Certain primitive rituals may have had a secular origin, beginning in a period before religious concepts were formed, and attaining later a religious character. This may be true of the rites of the so-called "hunting magic" in particular; the writer offers the following tentative theory as to the origin of the hunting-rites: In the stage when man had ceased to eat carrion and begun to hunt, he was probably still largely inarticulate and used gestures and actions as well as, or in place of, words. His life depended upon hunting; it was also endangered by hunting, which was therefore the most serious of undertakings. One of the many things which early man learned from association with the great animals was the value of cooperation; one man alone could not cope with a mammoth or a bison, but a group could. If then a man saw some food-animal, too large for him to hunt alone, his procedure probably would be to return to his group, or to summon them with a "hunting howl," or a "hunting grunt," or perhaps an imitation of the sound made by the animal. When they assembled, he would first indicate the direction in which he had seen the creature, which would give them an idea of the terrain to be traversed; he would then describe the nameless animal by imitating its most salient general characteristics, then by imitating the acts of this particular individual, whether it was browsing, drinking, sleeping, etc. If there were more than one animal, he would probably repeat the imi-

tation, and then pantomime a hunt. This procedure of gesture and pantomime might continue from necessity for a time; later, when man was more articulate it would be continued because it was associated with successful hunts—and the majority must have been successful, or man would not have survived. With the development of religious feeling the procedure becomes a ritual before the hunt; it is really the dramatic enactment of a prayer in whose efficacy there is complete faith as it has preceded success so often before. The rite is not only the image of the hunt, it *is* the hunt; it is mystically identical with it. If primitive man believed that the ritual brought success in hunting, the belief is the effect of such rituals and not the cause (p. 4).

There is absolutely no way at this time to prove that such a reconstruction is or is not correct. As a hypothesis no one can object to it, but as we read on, such hypotheses tend to become accepted facts and are used to substantiate other hypotheses. The words, "in the writer's opinion" appear with dangerous frequency. These opinions have a cumulative effect which may be called proof by association. This vagueness detracts from many worthwhile passages such as the discussion of Totemism, which is a well-rounded critique of the subject.

In a recent review of *The Archaeology of World Religions*, Miss Waterbury herself stated: "If Mr. Finegan had a gigantic task in writing this book, so has the reviewer in attempting to give an adequate idea of it." I too recognize in myself a lack of competence to evaluate completely all the material on animal deities throughout the world as presented by the author. But some comments can be made on the professed subject of the book, i.e., Chinese "bird-deities."

Miss Waterbury begins her presentation of China with a brief mention of prehistoric motifs in that country and in some other cultures. Here among other artifacts she notes the appearances of the well-known primitive tiger of neolithic date from Sha-kou-t'un, a jade bird in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, which she ascribes to the same epoch, and a bird that appears on a vessel from the Black Pottery Culture of Ch'êng-tzu-yai. This is quickly followed by a section on "The Last Centuries of the Shang Dynasty." Here, in a general discussion of problems concerned with the bronze art of Shang, Miss Waterbury presents an extraordinary theory on the meaning of the spirals which form the background of many bronzes.

Since the décor on many primitive objects is derived from an animal-form, though at first sight there seems to be no connection with any animal—as, for instance, the Siberian ivory tail referred to in Chapter II—it seems probable that the geometric back-

1. Waterbury, Florence, Review of the *Archaeology of World Religions* by Jack Finegan, in *Artibus Asiae*, 1953,

ground on the Shang bronzes may have an animal-origin. Though the background is stylised beyond the possibility of certain identification, the constantly repeated motif suggests a conventionalised snail-shell to the writer. Shells of various kinds adorn the skeletons in many graves in both hemispheres; head-dresses of snail-shells have been found. In Egypt a pre-dynastic statue of the God Min wears a girdle on which are a lion, a bull, an elephant, a sawfish, and shells (Baumgartel, *The Three Colossi from Kop-tos*). Min, whose worship was of long duration, was the God of Fertility: probably the symbols on his girdle had this significance. In Tahiti, formerly, every individual had, beside the family tutelary deity at the family marae (temple), his own tutelary spirit in or near the marae, to whom he made invocations. The spirit might be a stone, a tree, a lizard or a snail (Henry, *op.cit.*, p. 142). Some of the northern Shaman wear conical shells as part of their ceremonial costumes (Nioradze, *op.cit.*). The cowrie shell appears frequently on the sacred vessels; it is possible that another shell also had a supernatural significance. The usual interpretation of the background is that it represents the lei-wen, but since animal-worship antedates worship of the natural forces, it seems more probable to the writer that the background is associated with the earliest animal-symbols—the tiger, snake, cicada, birds—than that it is the product of a state of mind which was later than those symbols. (pp. 79-80)

I, however, am inclined to believe in the generally accepted theory that the spiral is related to the early character for rain or cloud and is symbolic of the fertilizing power of water. Miss Waterbury then proceeds to discuss other representations on Shang bronzes, especially the tiger. This passage repeats ideas which appear in her earlier book, *Early Chinese Symbols and Literature; Vestiges and Speculations*. Some ten years ago I voiced my objections to these very theories and I still remain unconvinced of their validity.²

On page 83, Miss Waterbury begins to discuss at some length the birds which appear on Shang ritual bronzes. She notes the probability that these have a "genetic connection," and she refers to allusions to wild ducks in a poem in the *Shi King* [*Shih Ching*]. In the poem's context these ducks are mentioned in a varying refrain which possibly had some suggestion of the passage of time during which ancestor sacrifice was carried on. According to Miss Waterbury's interpretation, the birds represented the souls of ancestors. I cannot agree that the ducks here have any reference to ancestors. But the Shang origin myth, in which a swallow is the progenitor of the dynasty, is a more apt reference used by the author to connect ancestors with birds. My own article on "The Bird-in-the-Animal-Mouth on Chinese Bronzes" and Chewon Kim's "Han

Dynasty Mythology and the Korean Legend of Tan Gun" would have offered specific support for birth symbolism in which the bird partook—possibly as an ancestor.³ Miss Waterbury concludes, in addition, that the "cult of bird-deities, then, existed outside of the official religion" and may have been Tungusic in origin.

The "bird-deity," according to the author, "usually appears with a human head and a bird's body, or with a human head and body with bird attributes." Examples in the form of small jade carvings and bronzes dating from the Early Chou, Middle Chou, and Late Chou are then described. The one example assigned to the Middle Chou period might better be dated a few centuries later. The Late Chou "examples of this type have either bird's heads or wear a bird mask." Miss Waterbury notes that no duplicates exist: "each figure is a unique expression of the general idea. . . . The birds on the ritual bronzes are probably connected with the ancestral spirits; the jade talismans are protective; the images of Middle Chou and Chang-sha suggest guardian household gods" (p. 93). The reader may wish more evidence for Miss Waterbury's judgments. I do wonder why, among all the animal and bird-deities described by the author in the book, no mention is made of the Indian Garuda. The author does show an interest in likely connections between India and early Chinese periods but does not point out that, although no examples of the Garuda have come to light from the Mauryan period in India (contemporary with Late Chou), the concept of this bird-deity was well established by that time. Some birds on Late Chou bronzes show similarities to slightly later Indian types and there is greater possibility of direct connection between the Garuda and Chinese bird motives than with the Kwakiutl bird masks which are discussed in detail. In fact, the almost pointed omission of the Garuda is one of the great enigmas of the book.

Lengthy descriptions are presented of another type of bird-deity which makes its first appearance on Late Chou bronzes. These figures which usually accompany combat or hunting scenes on bronze vessels had been related by Karlgren to the Indo-Chinese Dong-so'n culture. Miss Waterbury states that she prefers northern origins, in justification for which she calls into aid analogous material from Africa, the South Pacific, Sumer, Brazil, and many other cultural areas. Relationships of the bird-deity are also allied to Shamanism.

Miss Waterbury quotes a passage from Chuang-tzu about a "spirit-like man . . . mounted on the clouds . . . [who] could save men from disease and pestilence and secure every year a plentiful harvest" (p. 110). The author believes the idea of this "spirit-like man of T'ao," endowed with the power of flight and other supernatural attributes, became merged with the ancient concept of the bird-deity. She explains that he is not a

2. ART BULLETIN, 1943, XXV, 3, pp. 281-284.

3. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, January 1945, pp. 5-14 and

Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, 1948-49, III, pp. 43-48.

Shaman; his bird powers are intrinsic; he is supernatural. Usually his head is human and almost invariably he has no wings, but he may have a bird's body or tail. His arms may merely be lines and his hands and feet often end in scrolls. Visible in the sky or in the Taoist heaven, this deity is usually accompanied by the symbolic animals of the cardinal points. Moreover, she notes, many such deities are often found grouped together. "He might be described as an impersonal incarnation of immortality." He is rarely static. Such figures are found on mirrors of Late Chou and Han. During Han times they appear in connection with official religion in wall paintings and tomb reliefs, as well as on bronze objects and lacquers. Similar figures are represented on bronze mirrors from the first century B.C. to the end of the Six Dynasties. Detailed descriptions of those mirrors comprise the end of the main section of the book (pp. 113-137). Although it is shown that the "bird-deities" are frequently associated with Hsi Wang Mu and Tung Wang Kung in a Taoist context, no startling revelations are forthcoming. Indeed, I strongly question whether either the term deity or bird is properly applied to the figures under consideration. So far there is no evidence that they are anything more than subsidiary creatures from Taoist folklore which partake of divinity no more than fairies of Western legend. Nor are they any more related to birds than are Western angels who are visualized with wings.

Miss Waterbury summarizes by stating that there certainly seems to be a connection between the bird and the ancestral soul which endowed the early representations with supernatural powers. The later bird-deities are different. In their whimsey and gay immortality they represent the Taoism not of Lao-tzu but of Chuang-tzu. None of these bird-deities were worshiped.

To all this the reviewer must say that these interpretations, indeed imaginative and at times provocative, are never convincingly proved. The technique of comparing materials in unrelated cultures confuses valid analogy with chance identification. This is the pitfall of disciples of Jung. It should also be pointed out that Miss Waterbury too often uses late Chinese texts, such as the *Li Chi* and the *Chou Li* as authoritative sources for earlier periods.

Florance Waterbury's *Bird-Deities in China* is one of the finest examples of bookmaking this reviewer has seen in recent years. The volume has over sixty large plates, each of which is excellently printed from clear photographs. The type is large and the pages well designed. The chief value of her work is in its really excellent illustrations, some of which introduce new material. The mediaevalist may find interest in an epilogue of some eight pages on two bird-deities in Christian churches of the "European peninsula."

J. LE ROY DAVIDSON
Yale University

MABEL M. GABRIEL, *Masters of Campanian Painting*, New York, H. Bittner & Co., 1952. Pp. vii, +66; 35 pls. \$12.00.

The aim of this book is to identify the work of three "masters" among the extant Campanian paintings. Although in the opinion of the reviewer the arguments presented by the author raise more questions than they answer, this fact should not discredit the methodical experiment itself. On the contrary, this new investigation may help substantially to clarify our thoughts on one of the most puzzling problems of ancient art. The very questions which it brings to mind indicate the areas where future inquiries are most needed.

Thirteen famous paintings from Herculaneum and Pompeii are distributed among the three hypothetical artists. These necessarily anonymous characters are called the "Herculaneum Master" (plus an assistant, the "Medea Master"), the "Tragic Master," and the "Baroque Master," respectively. But the real problem does not lie in their names. It lies in the concept which the fictitious names represent: the idea of "masters" in Campanian painting.

This is not to say that the question of who created the wealth of paintings in the Campanian cities, is unjustified. For these paintings were after all produced by real people, working either alone or in workshops; and the number of artists and workshops must have been limited. We may even refer to these people as "masters." But in that case the researcher faces two interlocking questions. One concerns the criteria which he can employ in order to re-assemble the work of these "masters" from among the extant material. The other regards the degree of independence of the Campanian artists as creators in their own right.

The search for "masters" in ancient art has so far met with quite uneven results. It was successful among the Greek vase-paintings, where characteristic mannerisms of drawing and representation can be investigated like so many traits of personal handwriting, and artists' signatures do not infrequently come to our aid. The usefulness of similar investigations proved more doubtful when original Greek sculptures like those of the Parthenon and other monuments were subjected to the same scrutiny. In favorable cases, various hands may be distinguished among these cooperative works of Greek art, but there is no certainty that they were the hands of "masters." The independent contribution of the assistants, apart from mere workmanship, remains in doubt.¹ As the workshop conditions and standards of ancient painting are even less known to us than those of Greek sculpture, obviously the identical problem arises with regard to the Campanian painters. It is further complicated by the circumstance that their production undoubtedly included copies after "masterpieces." To determine the extent to which their work can be accepted as original—that is, as a free and

1. A critical review of the concept of "masters" in Greek art was recently published by A. J. B. Wace, *Annuario della*

Scuola Italiana di Atene, n.s., VIII-X (1946-1948), Bergamo, 1950, pp. 109ff.

personal creation—thus remains a fundamental task. Because this problem has not been solved, the distinction between a comparatively free iconographic tradition and intentional copying, as proposed by the author (pp. 3ff.), though probably valid remains hypothetical; it cannot be taken for granted.

In the circumstances, the analytical concepts recommended by the author (pp. 5ff.) lose much of their conviction. The question of what is and what is not original in each Campanian painting must be asked before, not after, one forms an opinion about the style of its "master." If the question has not been raised or has been left unanswered, almost all subsequent observations about the style of a painting remain equivocal: they may be true of the Campanian "master," or of the artist whose work he imitated. No distinction is possible between features copied, traditionally adopted, or personally contributed by the anonymous Campanian painter.

It is somewhat disconcerting, for instance, to find that in the detailed description of the famous Telephos painting from the Basilica of Herculaneum the Hellenistic origin of the composition is never seriously considered (pp. 27ff.). Yet the question has been frequently discussed by others, with varying results. The arrangement of the two main figures, which are placed in oblique opposition so as to close rather than open the space to the observer, is as characteristic as it is rare. No other painting which the author ascribes to the same master shows a similar arrangement. In this one example, however, even details like the Telephos group to the left are arranged in accordance with the same closed, spatial point counterpoint principle. The chances are that this manner of composition was neither a personal nor even a traditional feature with the Campanian painter, but rather the property of an original which he copied. Nor can the much vexed question of the possible changes and additions in this painting be completely silenced. For instance, the winged figure has in the past been considered an extemporary addition to the original group. The matter is far from clear. At any rate, this figure represents an interesting thought: she introduces the dimension of time, by pointing out the things to come. As she is not the only celestial commentator of her kind in Campanian painting, the general idea, at least, did not originate with this one artist.² But in that case, where did these ἀγγελοι τοῦ μέλλοντος originate? So far no examples have been demonstrated in Hellenistic art, but neither have they been found in Roman art except in Campanian painting. At present the evidence seems to favor a rather special tradition with an explanatory and literary slant such as one might expect, for instance, in book illustrations, from which ideas of this kind may indeed have derived. Their Hellenistic provenance still remains

likely. It was a rather brilliant idea to identify the specimen in the Telephos painting as the constellation Virgo.³ The nearest analogue, in the Thetis-Hephaestus paintings, likewise deals with astrology.⁴

Perhaps we come closest to the truth if we conceive of the Campanian painters as performers rather than original creators and composers. Investigations of their techniques in regard to color and use of the brush, such as that initiated by the author, may shed some light on this aspect of Campanian art. After all, the choice and application of color constitute a personal performance in which a painter can be free even though, in his own way, he follows the figural design and composition of another. Even when he actually copies the work of another painter he is bound to be more personal than a copyist-sculptor who uses mechanical aids. Besides, a copy in painting can only be executed from the original directly, while sculptors may use casts. It is at least conceivable that the sources of the Campanian painters consisted largely, not of finished paintings but of more easily portable materials such as sketches or model-books, rendering famous compositions only in outlines, or perhaps with indications of color added in writing. The trouble is that at present, none of these questions can be answered. But neither is it possible to disregard them entirely. For instance, the majority of paintings from Herculaneum seem painted in a grey and purple hue that is quite characteristic. The artist of the Telephos painting shared this propensity. (No blue was actually used; see description of the color, pp. 10ff.) In his colors he showed himself truly as a "Herculaneum-Master." The chances are that at least in this respect he worked from his own resources, perhaps adhering to a general system of color customary within a "school of Herculaneum." The composition and the statuesque solidity of his figures may nevertheless render a Hellenistic original, both in style and in spirit.

As the author remarks, the painting of *Zeus in the Clouds* (pls. 13-15, pp. 32ff.) possesses the same purplish-grey tonality, and incorporates a similarly monumental, Hellenistic ideal of style as the Telephos painting. On the strength of these criteria alone one might follow her in ascribing both to the same artist (pp. 11f.). Unfortunately, however, there are complicating factors which cannot be overlooked. One, in my opinion, is fundamental.

The style of the Zeus appears softer. There is much less substance in the forms—nothing which resembles the stony clarity of Arcadia or the bronze-like firmness of Herakles in the Telephos painting. Most Campanian paintings represent human figures as three-dimensional objects, and frequently by way of a formalism reminiscent of sculpture rather than of live models. But, as the comparison between these two examples shows, there are different ways of achieving this corporeal illusion.

2. Cf. L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 231. Bibliography: author, pp. 28ff., nn. 1-6, and E. Loewy, "Arcadia," *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, Vienna, 1927, p. 46, nn. 1-3.

3. C. Robert and others; cf. Loewy, *op.cit.*, p. 47 and nn.

12-14.

4. O. Brendel, "Der Schild des Achilles," *Die Antike*, xii, 1936, pp. 282ff. For the question of the winged "messengers" cf. also G. Lippold, "Antike Gemälde Peoplen," *Abh. d. Bayerischen Akademie*, Munich, 1951, p. 66.

In the Telephos painting all the main forms are clearly designed and outlined, and modeling is supported by lineal hatchings, as in a drawing. In the Zeus painting, on the other hand, the forms are less definitely outlined; they emerge, rather, from an almost impressionistic technique of color patches. The gradations from light to dark are not accompanied by regular parallel hatchings. In other words, the method of representation in the one case is basically linear, akin to drawing; in the other case, coloristic and painterly. The contrast of principle which underlies these two approaches can be traced in all Campanian painting. It seems independent of the other developments which gave rise to the traditional distinction between the four "Pompeian" styles.

In the light of this contrast between an abstract-linear and an impressionistic-painterly approach to form, the other suggestion of the author, that the Chiron and Telephos paintings are works of one artist, may convince us (pls. 9-11, pp. 31ff.). Both represent the same sculptural and linear concept of form. But her attribution of the Zeus painting to the same artist must be revised. In this connection, an interesting observation can be made regarding the Chiron painting. If it is true that this painting renders a statuary group from the Saepta Julia in Rome, the style must be the painter's own; it cannot have been copied from a Hellenistic painting.⁵ And this style differs from the *Zeus in the Clouds*, because the artist had a different idea about the relation of color and form.

Unfortunately, it is not always possible to conclude that the style of painting in a work of this class really was the painter's own. It could have been the style of his prototype. In this respect the large Theseus painting which the author also ascribes to the "Herculaneum-Master" (pls. 6-8, pp. 30ff.) constitutes an interesting case. Its color differs from the other paintings in this group (author, p. 14); so does the modeling which is thoroughly coloristic, not linear. Existing variations of the same theme show that the iconographic scheme—the full-face figure of Theseus between the two grateful children—was well known. But nowhere was it accurately copied.⁶ The relation between the preserved versions is more of the kind found in early mediaeval book illustrations. It seems based on a comparatively free use, rather than precise copying, of a common scheme of composition. In fact the well-known example from Pompeii (Sogliano 526) presents the scene in much detail, in miniature style; and at the right side appears one of the earliest examples known to us of the wedge-shaped crowds that later became so familiar a feature in Byzantine and early mediaeval art.⁷

Observations of this kind arouse our curiosity as to the immediate sources from which the Campanian artists

worked. If the origin of their iconographic traditions was in earlier Greek paintings, more likely than not the originals were not found nearby—perhaps not even in Italy. As mentioned before, the evidence at present points to a mode of transmission which in most cases, if not in all, included only the chief characters of a composition, their postures and mutual interaction. But then, what do we know about the backgrounds and the arrangement of famous Greek paintings? A combination of figures which in the Campanian version appears to be the main group only may have been the whole painting in a Greek original. This also is the reason why we can hardly as yet evaluate justly the "impressionistic" style of a painting like the great Theseus fresco from Herculaneum. The style of Theseus, in all its *bravura*, may well imitate a Hellenistic prototype; especially as the children to the right—obviously free additions—appear palpably less "impressionistic" in execution. Nevertheless the possibility must be left open that this impressionism was the painter's own style: his personal "performance." However, if the latter alternative proves correct, he was a different person from the artist who painted the Telephos and Chiron compositions; he was not the "Herculaneum-Master."

Throughout this study, the difficulty of judging the real origin of any given style or manner in Campanian painting remains a disquieting factor. To turn to a different instance, a case can be made for the author's contention that three famous paintings from the House of the Tragic Poet were works of one artist (pp. 35f., "The Tragic Master"). As a matter of personal opinion, I would not include with them the two other paintings which the author attributes to the same artist, the Iphigeneia painting, pls. 27f., and the excellent *Ares and Aphrodite*, pls. 27f. But here, too, a separation between what is and what is not a personal feature of style might at least have been attempted. Although it may be impossible to reach definite conclusions in a matter so intricate, any observation of fact can become a precious clew through the labyrinth of Campanian art. For instance, in the painting of *Achilles Surrendering Briseis* (pl. 21), the three protagonists form a very interesting group. They seem lined up in the foreground as if conceived for a frieze, not unlike those which later appear in Roman sarcophagi, rather than for a panel composition. The throng in the background looks alien to this group, and much more Roman. Are we confronted with a painting created by adapting an original frieze composition to the rectangular frame?

It is not necessary to go further into these details. Only the principal problem had to be made clear, which, though not new, is apt to appear in a new

5. Author, pp. 31 and nn. 16, 17; Curtius, *op.cit.*, p. 211.

6. Curtius, *op.cit.*, pp. 213ff.; Lippold, *op.cit.*, pp. 115ff.

7. The principle of representing groups of people by rows of superimposed heads was developed in Hellenistic art; cf. the group of four in the corner of the Archelaus-relief, illustrated by the author, fig. 7. In the Theseus painting from Pompeii (Curtius, *op.cit.*, p. 213, fig. 126) the crowd has grown larger, and the heads form an oblique line towards the right edge of

the composition. This is the wedge-shaped arrangement known from Byzantine art. Obviously it was already familiar to the Campanian painters, as well as to Roman illustrative art in general. Late Hellenistic origin is likely but not certain. Compared to the relief of Archelaus, the wedge-shaped crowds appear as a more advanced stage, in a development based on the same representational principle.

light after each effort of research. Every reader of this book will thank the author for her careful descriptions, especially the detailed reports on light and color; and both the author and the publisher should be congratulated on the excellent reproductions that help to make the book so conveniently readable. A start has been made which will prove valuable in the future. But much critical detective work remains to be done. We are still far from the point where the complex factors which produced the Campanian paintings can be disentangled and the "renaissance" character of this art, its mixture of old and new, its revivals and innovations, can be properly described.

OTTO J. BRENDDEL
Indiana University

EMMA MEDDING-ALP, *Rheinische Goldschmiedekunst in Ottonischer Zeit*, Mainz, Rheinisches Kulturinstitut, 1952. Pp. 39, 55 pls. DM 9.80.

This small but carefully prepared book on tenth and eleventh century jewels is an exceptionally well illustrated survey valuable for research in the period. Except for H. Jantzen's *Ottonische Kunst* (Munich, 1947), which is difficult to obtain, this group of jewelry has not been adequately reproduced for many years. The earlier publications, ponderous and expensive, are also not readily available.

The study of mediaeval jewelry, which attracted a great deal of attention in the nineteenth century, is at a rather low ebb now. The reasons for this become apparent in the book under discussion. The results of research in this field are admirably summarized by Mrs. Medding-Alp in barely 39 pages of text. A concise description of the jewels as art objects with an aesthetic evaluation primarily in regard to *Formwille*, a bibliography, a two-page glossary of technical terms, and a description of each object adequately covers our present knowledge of the subject.

The 55 photographs are of exceptional clarity. A number of them show the jewels at an angle. Such views are of particular interest; they have rarely been published and then only as isolated examples. It is strikingly evident how misleading the frontal views are as they do not show the raised structural forms of the settings, which have a close relationship to other arts.

The text, a summary of earlier studies, shows why the research on jewelry, despite its great ballast of erudition, never arrived at any conclusions of value for the study of the Middle Ages as a whole. The jewels are material documents which might reveal a great deal if properly analyzed as objects of artistic industry. Strangely enough, no one has as yet posed the question in all its complexity, so that present-day opinion concerning their authorship and provenance is based on incomplete evidence. The technological knowledge of a specific time and place, as well as the availability of materials, not only those actually used but also others that might have served in developing the skills and

methods of the craft, ought to be taken into consideration. Discussions of techniques to date have never gone beyond the descriptive stage. Although scholars have often noted mixed techniques in a single piece, they did not ask how or why the techniques were mixed. The enamel workshops of Limoges, for instance, are recognizable throughout the ages by an identity of technical method, the use of the same material, and even similar forms. This is normal in any artistic craft. There are no workshops which mix many different techniques, forms, and materials, changing them completely from one part of an object to another. The one exception to this rule is the jewelry of the early Middle Ages. This fact alone is enough to arouse our curiosity. We also know that the period was one of extremely limited economic exchanges, with few industries or large workshops and lacking in raw materials. Yet we assume that the most exquisite jewels known to mankind were produced in that period.

The technical problems involved in the making of jewelry ought to be particularly scrutinized as they reflect the technological level of a civilization. Granulation, for instance, a process known in antiquity, required twenty-five years of research before it was rediscovered by Castellani, and almost as long in the modern laboratory of the British Museum, with the aid of all the complicated technical devices of modern times and with an unlimited supply of all necessary materials.

Granulation is found in the Egbert Shrine, in Trier (plates 2-5). The Reliquary is composed of pieces of disparate origin. It contains plaques similar to Etruscan ones (Cf. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Jewellery* . . . , London, British Museum, 1911, No. 1632); heart-shaped inlays identical with the pendants of a necklace from Hungary (N. Fettich, "Archaeologische Studien zur Geschichte der Späthunnischen Metallkunst," *Archaeologia Hungarica*, xxxi, Budapest, 1951, plate xv, 4) a fibula from the Sutton Hoo workshop, some oriental enamels and other pieces. The parts with granulation, common in antique jewels, are in all probability old pieces re-used. Only a few examples of this technique are found on the jewels of the Middle Ages. Since the necessary conditions for discovering or carrying out such a complicated process did not exist in the period, it is more than probable that all such specimens were original settings of old gems.

The technical problem is of consequence for all aesthetic considerations as well. In repoussé work, a number of qualities which Mrs. Medding-Alp interprets as "the painterly rendition of plastic qualities of the human form" (pp. 20, 22; figures 17-26, 42) appear rather to be due entirely to the lack of proper tools and training. This is more in agreement with our picture of the period. On the other hand some repoussé pieces are well drawn and executed. These are the oriental rinceaux, which show considerable rubbing, evidence of long use (figs. 10, 12, 14, 15), not apparent on the more exposed parts of the same objects. Evidently the rinceaux were made earlier; this would explain their incompatibility, in workmanship, design, and iconogra-

phy, with the other repoussé work. The two types represent not only different ateliers but different cultures and periods. That such work was also copied in sculpture only proves the strength of the morphological tradition and the well-known ascendancy of metal work in early mediaeval art, but does not prove the origin of the metal work.

The question of the re-use of parts is of utmost importance. The jewels are composed of a variety of elements. A single ensemble can be made up of a combination of the following units:

STONES

- necklace beads (fig. 4)
- cameos and intaglios (fig. 43)
- stones set in a variety of bezels (fig. 11)
- rock-crystals and other cut stones (fig. 28)

VARIOUS READY-MADE PIECES

- coins (fig. 5)
- enamels of various designs, techniques, and materials (fig. 37)
- barbaric brooches (fig. 1)
- amulets (fig. 10)
- Coptic (?) ivories (fig. 27)
- reshaped jeweled objects (fig. 52)

METAL WORK

- oriental repoussé (fig. 13)
- filigree work (fig. 36)
- granulation (fig. 2)
- mediaeval repoussé (fig. 26)

These parts are invariably of a high degree of technical skill, but they are always assembled in a crude manner, with rough iron nails driven through the well-finished gold parts (figs. 5, 8, 10, 14, 31, 32, 38, 52). Old gold plaques are sometimes cut to fit new designs (figs. 10, 13, 32), enamels are carelessly adapted (figs. 5, 8, 32, 54). These two aspects of Ottonian jewelry are definitely incompatible and a single workshop could never have been responsible for both. The quality of the component parts reflects the skills of unknown workshops, the existence of which has never been postulated. The assembly techniques, on the other hand, are concordant with all our knowledge of the period, with the technical level of other arts, and with the industrial and material capacities of the Middle Ages.

The importance of this problem is generally overlooked. Any conclusions concerning a jewel composed of old parts are invalid for the period under consideration. An accurate picture emerges only when the differences (technical, material, formal and stylistic) between the old and new parts are realized and defined. Mrs. Medding-Alp does mention that some parts are of different origins but, in agreement with previous researchers, does not consider it of any importance; nor does she recognize that a majority of the parts is earlier and has nothing to do with the Rhenish workshops of the Ottonian period. This *parti pris* ("... the enamels originally served another purpose, which is proof that they were made in Germany." [p. 19]) has little logic and presents no evidence of any sort. Yet the same

way of thinking is prevalent in all the research on the subject.

The use of cut rock-crystal on some of the mediaeval jewels best illustrates the problems related to the many aspects of this field. The cutting of precious or semi-precious stones was and is a highly specialized craft dependent on very long traditions and a constant supply of the necessary materials. A prerequisite is a stone (or its powder) harder than the one which is cut. Rock-crystal is found in Europe, where no harder stone is present which would permit its being cut. Even glass was not cut in the Middle Ages. The crystal-cutting industry only started in the Renaissance. Thus a cut rock-crystal on the cross of Lothar (pp. 18, 34; fig. 32) and a cup of the same stone attached to the Chancel of Henry the Second (p. 33, fig. 28) pose a problem of origins which may prove to have far-reaching consequences for the history of the period. (The only adequate description of the stone-cutting industry is to be found in S. H. Hansford, *Chinese Jade Carving*, London, 1950.)

The name of Lothar engraved on the crystal shows how misleading it can be to draw conclusions from literary texts or inscriptions on jewels without corroborative evidence. The attribution of the gem to this king is based on late and fragmentary texts, without considering the material and the technical possibilities of the period. The inscriptions on mediaeval jewels (figs. 1, 11, 27-29, 38), well quoted by the author, are not a proof of their origin, unless they are technically and stylistically homogeneous with the whole object. On many jewels (including ivories and enamels) inscriptions of poor technique and design are scratched on the surface; these are certainly added by later hands.

The author seems to have been aware of other problems, such as that of the jewel in relation to the social history of the period. She indicates some of them in a condensed way. The magical and symbolic value of the stones (p. 25) is probably much more important than has been realized. This question relates to the secular and ecclesiastical use of the treasures. A distinction between the two (p. 10) is in reality non-existent, contrary to the old opinions expressed in this text. The church treasures were primarily secular offerings that very often consisted of jewels originally made as personal adornments indicating the social rank of the wearer. The church often re-used these in the making of ritual objects, refashioning even the objects of old pagan cults for its own purposes. The result was a heterogeneous collection of parts such as may be seen on most mediaeval jewels. Early historical texts (e.g. the History of Gregory of Tours, or the mediaeval inventories) tell us of very large secular treasures in quantities never attained by those of the Church. This has to be related to the meaning of jewels, which can hardly be said to have been Christian (p. 25), all the efforts of the Church notwithstanding. It is not so much the Christian character of the Ottonian dynasty (p. 25) that is attested by the jewels, as its long pagan background. The pagan symbolism of gems survived

the attempts to give it a Christian meaning and is still alive today.

The jewels collected under the heading of the Rhenish School of the Ottonian period consist of many completely unrelated objects. The one most clearly different from the rest is the eagle fibula (fig. 48) which is said to have belonged to the Empress Gisela. Never a part of her treasure, it was found by excavation; it differs in technique, material, form, and style from her personal jewels (fig. 46). The attribution was made without any apparent reason. The same could be said of other objects (figs. 1, 10, 12, 13, 45) exhibiting sharp differences of technique, material, and form, which indicate very different workshops or centers of production, perhaps even quite different periods and cultural environments.

There is, however, one group of Ottonian jewels presenting morphological characteristics common to other arts. This is a group in which the gems are set like domes on architectural elements consisting of arcades. The arches spring from paired columns. These forms represent in metal work "the heavenly city" known from manuscripts, ivories, and later sculpture. They are said to have been "borrowed" from Byzantium (pp. 14, 21, 23; figs. 2, 8, 31, 34, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 53), although nothing similar is known in Byzantine architecture and no Byzantine jewelry has been preserved, so far as we know. This morphological tradition seems to belong to the West, and its long survival (J. Baltrusaitis, "Villes sur arcatures," *Urbanisme et architecture, études en honneur de P. Lœvedan*, Paris, 1954, pp. 30-40) might indicate that its origins should be connected more intimately with the culture and history of the people preserving it. What were the models for the motif in the earliest manuscripts and ivories? The intrinsic as well as the highly symbolic value of gems might suggest that here was the origin of the form, which was then copied in other arts, but the date attributed to those techniques reverses the relationship. Probably the opinions presently held should be reexamined, particularly since many questions on the subject remain unanswered.

To the architectural jewelry belong several objects which use similar forms, techniques and materials, but which scholarly opinion has excluded from the "Rhenish" school. These are the fibulae excavated in Mainz (F. Schneider, "Mittelalterliche Goldfibeln," *Jahrbuch d. Kgl. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XVIII, 1897, pp. 170-176); the Codex Aureus in Munich; the reliquary of Pepin d'Aquitaine in Conques; the Ashburnham Gospel cover in the Morgan Library, New York; the Crown of Kunigunde in Munich; the Guelph cross in the Schlossmuseum, Berlin; the Cross-reliquary in Velletri Cathedral; and the amulet (reliquary?) boxes from Riazan, formerly in the Czar's treasure.

All these jewels belong to the same tradition, perhaps the same center, which was supplied with the same types of precious stones. The tradition must have existed for a long time: architectural forms and elements (figs. 2, 8, 31, 38, 45) became less and less well under-

stood. Arches turn into decorative bars supporting raised stones (figs. 53, 54), then meanders (fig. 44), openwork (fig. 46), or plain bases (figs. 44, 47). Such an evolution must have required a considerable length of time and concordant cultural changes. It cannot be limited to one century in a small area of homogeneous culture such as the Rhenish provinces of the Ottonian Empire.

This makes us wonder whether the whole notion of a Rhenish school can withstand detailed scrutiny. The accumulation of portable objects in one area, during an exceedingly unstable period of history, shortly after the great migratory movements, has to be viewed very cautiously. The other objects in this group, as listed above, are widely distributed in different territories with no apparent historical relations. The strongest survival of the "building composition" style, possibly copying similar metal work, is to be found in still different regions.

The value of the book of Mrs. Medding-Alp, a very adequate summary of previous studies, is that it hints indirectly at the possibilities in this field of research. The reproductions, carefully selected, present a rare comparison of mostly unpublished views, making it evident that for the author the objects were more important than all the written opinions referring to them. The objects themselves should be the primary basis of any future study, out of which may emerge a far better understanding of the period. Since this small book may mark such a turning point, it deserves the attention and gratitude of everyone interested in the subject.

B. PHILIP LOZINSKI
New Haven, Conn.

LEO C. COLLINS, *Hercules Seghers*, The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. 149; 139 figs. on 111 pls. \$20.00.

A scholarly book on Hercules Seghers has been one of the most urgent desiderata in the field of Netherlandish art studies. The author of the present volume brings to this task a life-long enthusiasm for Seghers' art, a good deal of professional training, and the full support of the Chicago University Press. It is a great pity that these favorable circumstances have failed to produce the hoped-for result, and that in fact this reviewer finds himself compelled to speak of it as basically unsound. Such harsh criticism requires a lengthy documentation, which may tax the patience of the reader.

The table of contents looks quite promising. After an introduction dealing with the sources, we are promised information on Seghers' teacher, Gillis van Coninxloo, and his own beginnings; on etching in Haarlem prior to Seghers' stay in that town and on Elsheimer's influence; on Seghers' activity in Haarlem and in Amsterdam; on his travels in the Southern Netherlands and possibly the Alps; on "mountain valleys and the large prints"; on his work after other

masters, his last phase and his heritage; followed by notes, a chronological table, bibliography, index, list of illustrations, and 111 plates reproducing 139 works. There is indeed no question that this is by far the most ambitious attempt at a complete presentation of Seghers' work that has ever been made, and that the author has consulted all previous contributions to that goal. But he has compounded this meritorious labor with so many flaws and errors that the net result is one of loss rather than gain.

That there is something fundamentally wrong with the author's sense of documentation becomes apparent in the very introduction to his book. Its subtitle (*The Sources*) is a misnomer. What we do get is a very short summary of what is known from literary sources proper, to which is added a survey of the later literature on the artist, coupled with an account of rediscoveries of his works, regardless of their authentication. Instead, this would have been the place to give us the documents regarding Seghers' life, in English translation, and, above all, a statement as to which of his works are fully documented. In other words: this first monograph on Seghers in English should most certainly have developed further, instead of neglecting, what Eduard Trautscholdt had suggested within the narrow confines of a dictionary article.¹ Trautscholdt's outstanding contribution is not even mentioned in the text (in which authors of some unproven attributions are named) but relegated to a note, in which the single document not utilized by him is quoted in a Dutch paraphrase of 1885 instead of either its documentary form or an English translation. The lack of a clear statement regarding the fully documented works of Seghers is never overcome in the course of the book—in fact, it is grievously aggravated by the desultory insertion of a large number of new attributions, to which we must at once pay closer attention.

We have here to do with an expansion of the painted work of Seghers which, considering the very small number of generally accepted paintings by the master, is comparable to the addition of something like 450 pictures to the work of Rembrandt. It consists of some fifteen landscapes which were either excluded in Trautscholdt's article, after having been previously attributed to Seghers, or not published before at all. Among the former are works given to Seghers by such connoisseurs as Bode, van Puyvelde and Valentiner, and there may be a chance for some of these and also for some of the second group to "survive." However, the entire situation is most unsatisfactory from the point of view of method, and this for two reasons for which the author must assume full responsibility: the lack of sufficient information about the pedigree and whereabouts of the pictures and the lack of convincing stylistic analysis leading to an acceptable attribution. In striking contrast

to Trautscholdt's meticulous attempts to establish provenances, the author gives the reader little chance of improving on the meager knowledge gained from often quite mediocre black-and-white reproductions. Here is what he does give us with regard to works never mentioned before in the literature on Seghers:

fig. 43: American private collection

fig. 56: formerly in Syon House, Duke of Northumberland (mentioned by Waagen as Momper).

This picture happens to be known to me and is indeed close to Seghers.

figs. 57 and 58: owner given

fig. 76: formerly private collection, Vienna

fig. 86: private collection

fig. 99: owner given

fig. 100: Belgian private collector

fig. 118: Belgian private collector

fig. 124: private collection, Brussels.

This leaves seven out of ten such pictures in absolute obscurity. Add to this that of the works omitted by Trautscholdt but re-introduced here, several have been covered with anonymity: figs. 59 and 97 are in "private collections in Brussels." Now we all know that an author is occasionally faced with the necessity of omitting the name of an owner; but it is clear that in such cases, where the reader is given no clue as to how he can gain access to the original, the writer is under an especially strict obligation to give elaborate documentary or, failing that, stylistic proof of the authorship claimed by him. In a recent review of a book which offers similar problems, Seymour Slive has justly stated that "when a new attribution is published the author's primary obligation is to convince his reader of the validity of his ascription."² Since this reviewer is not acquainted with the vast majority of the newly attributed paintings and is not given the chance of investigating most of them, he sees himself limited to a *non liquet*; however, it can certainly be said that the author is seriously at fault if he expects his readers to accept more or less blindly Seghers' authorship of a picture which, on the face of it, looks like a typical work by, or very closely related to, Joos de Momper (figs. 76, 100), Frans de Momper (fig. 59, *pace* Bode and van Puyvelde) or Mancandan (fig. 126).³ Thus the reader moves in a constant twilight between generally accepted great masterpieces of etching and painting, and groups of pictures which are partly very mediocre-looking but which are described in the same tone of somewhat impersonal admiration. Mention must also be made of a still life with two commonplace skulls and some nice flowers, which the author, several years ago,⁴ tried to identify with "Een cranium" (*sic*) by Seghers, once preserved by the Amsterdam Surgeons' Guild. Most readers will agree that the surgeons' picture is still lost

1. In *Thieme-Becker*, xxx, 1936, pp. 444-448.

2. *College Art Journal*, xiii, Spring, 1954, p. 240.

3. Concerning this picture, the author (p. 97f.) advances a fantastic theory: he sees in its figures the hand of Jan Asselijn—an attribution entirely incomprehensible to me from

the reproduction—and claims that they were inserted after 1651 in one of the Seghers paintings owned by Johannes de Renialme.

4. *Phoebus*, II, 1949, pp. 76-79. The picture is still in a "private collection."

and will prefer to imagine it for themselves from a glance at Seghers' monumental *etching* of a cranium, which compares with the skulls of that painted still life as a Beethoven Symphony compares with one by Dittersdorf. Our confidence in the author's stylistic acumen is further shaken by his attribution of fig. 8 ("New England private collection") to David Vinckboons. Even without knowledge of the original it can be stated that this painting does not represent "the modern course toward eliminating romantic elements" of the twenties, let alone as exemplified by a *Flamissant* like Vinckboons, but the style of a late seventeenth century Dutch painter who, on the basis of the monogram DvB mentioned by the author, can rather confidently be identified as Dionys Verburgh.⁵

Closely related to such puzzling attributions are the stylistic "similarities" emphasized by the author at various points and occasionally illustrated by schematic drawings. I must confess my utter inability to see such "borrowings" and "identities" as are claimed to be illustrated by figures 17 and 18, 16 and 19, 23 and 24, 25 and 26, 43 and 45, 30 and 139 and several others. By the same token, the author's assertion that the subject of the Uffizi landscape shows "exactly the same rock formation" as a small oil sketch by Constant Troyon remains entirely incomprehensible to me. On the other hand, exact stylistic analyses and comparisons are frequently lacking where they would be of real significance, even apart from the new attributions. The discussion of Seghers' copies after other masters, which is strangely unimaginative altogether, suffers most from this lack. Thus, all the author has to say about Seghers' amazing transmutation of Baldung's *Lamentation* is that it "shows, with the exception of the background which has been omitted, the exact configuration of Hans Baldung's composition, rendered in reverse direction" (p. 90). Not a word about the profound formal and spiritual change that has taken place; the effect of the omission of the "background" on the composition; the suppression of the cast shadows and the reduction of the careful modeling of anatomy and drapery; the resulting monumentalization and utterly new unity of structure!

The misattribution of a late seventeenth century Dutch painting to Vinckboons indicates a lack of comprehensive knowledge of early seventeenth century Netherlandish art that vitiates much of the author's writing on the problems of Seghers' Haarlem period. This applies primarily to the situation of etching and

painting in Haarlem prior to and around 1612, when Seghers appears in that town. The author is poorly informed about van Mander, although he quotes Miss Valentiner's book, which thoroughly clarifies the importance of van Mander's late style—a demonstration which should have prevented the author from representing him as an incurable *Italianisant*. Likewise, recent research on Esajas van de Velde should have convinced the author that it is not permissible to characterize his early phase by saying that he "was, at the beginning, closely connected with Italianate tendencies; he favored, in his early drawings, like his cousin Jan, the motif of romantic ruins" (p. 15).⁶ A confused attempt to prove that "in the last quarter of the sixteenth century the medium of etching was almost forgotten" (p. 16) is completely unsuccessful;⁷ the author simply leaves out the masters who had already been assigned a firm place by Ludwig Burchard (e.g., Gerrit Pietersz), and then introduces Adam Elsheimer as the missing link between 1580 and 1610. He seizes upon Rubens' famous letter concerning Elsheimer's white etching ground and, without heeding Hind's and Weizsaecker's express refutation of that claim,⁸ asserts that this "new technique may be taken as the very first attempt to use a soft material as etching ground," adding to this: "Hence it follows that the art of etching owes its revival and a decisive technical improvement to Adam Elsheimer" (p. 17). This wholly unproven hypothesis prompts the author to fill the gap in Seghers' biography between 1607 and 1612 with an Italian journey (here again he writes as though there were no ruins in Holland), on which he could have met Elsheimer, who died in 1610. While such a trip is a possibility it must remain even more hypothetical than the author grants. Having proposed a technical contact with Elsheimer he proceeds to suggest corresponding stylistic influences on Seghers, and here the question marks multiply since the comparisons made in support of that theory are of the kind mentioned above as carrying little or no conviction. It has always seemed to me that Bode's favorite idea of Elsheimer's overwhelming influence on Dutch landscape painting amounted to a rather strong exaggeration of a small element of truth; as to Seghers, the evidence is surely very meager. Fascinated by his Elsheimer theory, the author then disposes of the Haarlem masters of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with considerable lack of care; and this although he touches upon some important connections. The most conspic-

5. The author gives the monogram of the Vinckboons in Vienna (his fig. 7) as "D.v.B." without saying that it is in ligature. The present monogram he likewise lists as "D.v.B.," leaving it uncertain what its exact form is. In the case of Verburgh one would expect DvB (without ligature).

6. In addition to J. G. van Gelder's *Jan van de Velde* and my article in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1, 1947, pp. 83-88, where the connection between Esajas van de Velde and Coninxloo is discussed, see now: Åke Bengtsson, *Studies on the Rise of Realistic Landscape Painting in Holland, 1600-1625*, Stockholm, 1952.

7. The worst part of this passage is the (quite unnecessary)

listing of the Italians on p. 16, where we are told that Parmegianino's etching activity "was no more than a start," and that after the death of Schiavone in 1582 (*sic*; the correct date is 1563) "the very sporadic use of etching found its temporary end in Italy"—which leaves out Barocci, Salimbeni and Vanni, Lodovico and Annibale Carracci, all of whom produced relatively few but qualitatively excellent and widely distributed etchings.

8. Hind in *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, XIII, 1926, p. 18, n. 2; Weizsaecker in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLVIII, 1927, p. 58 n. 2 ("weisen" must be a misprint for "weichen").

uous case is the one of Hendrick Goltzius, whose chiaroscuro woodcuts the author had recognized as potential inspirations of Seghers' multi-colored etchings. But what is his conclusion? "Thinking in general chronological terms, one should believe that Seghers' 'Upright Hilly Landscape' derives from Goltzius' small bicolored woodcuts, but the fact that Goltzius' 'Hut' is dated as late as 1616 and that Seghers certainly made colored prints prior to this date show a possibility that, this time, the influential forces worked in the opposite direction" (p. 33). Now, in the list of literature consulted by the author one finds Hirschmann's volume on Goltzius (*Meister der Graphik*)⁹ and on page 138 of that book, the convincing (and never contested) conclusion is reached that the chiaroscuro landscapes by Goltzius, *all undated*, were most probably done between 1598 and 1600. In other words, Goltzius' bicolored woodcuts antedate Seghers' colored etchings by at least ten years and must be carefully considered as possible sources of inspiration for Seghers, to whom they cannot owe anything. Incidentally, the landscape reproduced in fig. 72 of Hirschmann's book (H. 378) is even more closely related to Seghers than is the example adduced by the author (H. 380), and Goltzius' two *Marines* (H. 382 and 383, after Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen?) are surely nearer to Seghers' *Storm at Sea* than the composition by H. C. Vroom which the author introduces.

The extremely difficult question of the chronology of Seghers' work has not been clarified by this book, and there is a considerable amount of vacillation in the author's statements concerning this subject. The chronological table on pp. 131-134 suggests a very exact attempt at dating Seghers' paintings as well as etchings, but the text often indicates much greater restraint. For instance, on p. 13, after using the etchings Springer 39, 41, 42 and 43 in order to prove Coninxloo's influence on Seghers, the author remarks: "These four etchings, which derive from Coninxloo's ideas and achievements, were grouped together with the intention of demonstrating what Seghers owes to his master. It is not an attempt to establish a chronology which, for the time being, cannot be set up convincingly. However, the prevalence of Coninxloo's influence makes us think of a comparatively early period. The advanced technique, on the other hand, would be in favor of classifying the four etchings as more mature works. A possible solution of this question would be that we have works before us which Seghers had conceived as a very young man and which he executed in a later period. This would prove that Coninxloo's influence upon Seghers was not only strong but also lasting. Seghers lost himself more than once in far-reaching,

unsuccessful experiments. It may be that in times of distress he returned to the sound principles of his master, in order to regain self-control for his struggle, which led to extraordinary results." I am inclined to agree that it is indeed impossible to establish a convincing chronology of Seghers' work in the present state of our knowledge and that the author is entirely correct in stating that Seghers experimented somewhat fitfully and occasionally retraced his steps.¹⁰ If he had but followed up this idea instead of getting lost over and over again in hopelessly inadequate attempts at arriving at a strict chronology! This would also have led to a consideration of the Coninxloo heritage in Seghers' mature paintings, which would surely have yielded better results than the path actually pursued. The new attributions vastly add to this confusion. A glance at the sequence, figs. 55-56-57-58-59-61, which—according to the chronological table but also, implicitly, to the text—is supposed to represent the output of one master during a few years, shows with relentless clarity the impossible position in which the author has allowed himself to be caught. One does not have to be a believer in mechanical progress or even "straightforward" stylistic development to be shocked by the thought of such an imbroglio.

Chapter IX contains an attempt to correlate Seghers' interpretation of the earth with contemporary philosophical thought, particularly Descartes'. Two examples follow: "We should not forget that René Descartes was a contemporary of Seghers, that he had lived since the late twenties of the seventeenth century in Holland, and that he was the first to ascribe the origin of the earth to the cooling of an incandescent mass, resulting in the formation of a solid crust over a still hot nucleus. Hercules Seghers, the far-traveled artist who had seen volcanic regions in Italy, and the experimentalist who every day could observe the effect of heating and cooling in the microcosm of his laboratory may have been one of the first believers in Descartes' cosmological hypothesis, which preceded by more than a hundred years Guettard's geological theories of volcanism. This may be an explanation for the crustaceous character of Seghers' earth and rock formations which, on the copperplate, had to be split up into graphically seizable elements, fit for printing. Thus, a most conspicuous parallelism of the genetic and graphic problems occurs in Seghers' work, and he found a coherent solution by going back to the origin of form in a pre-geological sense" (p. 83). And: "It comes to mind that Seghers' previous change from diagonal space partition to an orthogonal system may be in some relation with the Cartesian co-ordinates which enable the mathematician to determine any curve by a series of equations" (p.

9. Although he has missed the same author's *Verzeichnis des graphischen Werks von Hendrick Goltzius*, Leipzig, 1921.

10. J. G. van Gelder has just discussed the probability of a considerable gap even between identical paintings and etchings by Seghers: "Hercules Seghers, Addenda," *Oud Holland*, LXVIII, 1953, pp. 149ff. The article is also important with regard to the alterations suffered by the Kessler-Stoop landscape (Collins,

fig. 106), and for its brief remarks on Collins' new attributions which partly coincide with, partly supplement my comments above. The landscape in the Fuerstenberg collection in Herdringen, which Collins dates ca. 1631/32, is, as had already been pointed out before, most probably identical with the one owned before 1627 by Herman Saftleven the Elder.

85). Statements of this kind seem to this reviewer to be harmful to a basically good cause. Few will doubt that there is something that binds Descartes and the great landscape painters of his time together. But it is evident that infinite care must be taken to express that relationship correctly, that is, to define the *tertium comparationis* with absolute precision. One just wonders what we art historians would say if a philosopher writing a book on Descartes would draw parallels of this sort with the work, say, of Frans Hals (who in contrast to Seghers is at least reasonably certain to have known Descartes personally).

On page 3, the author expresses the thought that Seghers has too often been the object of psychological interpretation, that "the melancholic element in Seghers' work has been overrated," and that he (the author) will "try to dispense with excessive psychology." The argument that Seghers "was able to maintain a fair living standard and that, for twelve important years, he was the owner of a large and fine house in an excellent neighborhood" does not seem very pertinent to this switch of interpretation (even if the house had not been lost by foreclosure). Nevertheless, a "saner" interpretation of much of Seghers' art seems to be entirely in order, and is rendered even more appropriate by the very recent discovery of the unbelievably beautiful and predominantly serene painting now in Rotterdam,¹¹ a signed work which re-emphasizes the necessity of setting one's sights very high in making attributions to the master. It is a pity that it was not known a little earlier; besides illuminating an important new facet of Seghers' art it might have caused the author to reject some of his more dubious attributions.

The book has been carefully produced but the illustrations, in collotype, are not altogether satisfactory. Many of the paintings would have shown ever so much better in halftones; several of the etchings, too, appear dull and lifeless. The lack of color reproductions, serious in the case of an artist who was one of the great colorists of all time, could have been partly compensated for by greater exactness in the rendering of values. The reproductions bear captions relating to artist, title, measurements and medium but unfortunately not to whereabouts or—in the case of the etchings—the numbers of Springer's catalogue, which are also missing in the list of illustrations, the chronological table and the index, so that it is extremely difficult to locate any particular etching in the text as well as in the plates. The footnotes, printed in the back, are numbered separately according to chapters, necessitating the frantic search for the correct place of reference commonly resulting from this arrangement.

WOLFGANG STECHOW
Oberlin College

11. J. C. Ebbinghe Wubben in *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, IV, 1953, pp. 31-43, and J. G. van Gelder, *loc.cit.* Both

NORBERT LIEB, *Barockkirchen zwischen Donau und Alpen*, Munich, Hirmer, 1953. Pp. 176; 46 figs.; 172 pls. DM 35.00.

The title of this orderly and beautiful book describes its contents exactly. The nineteen churches which it studies are all located between the German Alps and the right bank of the Danube in an area bounded by Birnau am Bodensee on the southwest, by Zwiefalten and Obermarchtal on the northwest, by Aldersbach and Osterhofen on the northeast, by Rott am Inn on the east, and by Ettal and the Wies on the mountainous south. The time span runs from 1686, when Obermarchtal was begun, to 1766, when Ottobeuren was consecrated. With the major exception of Neresheim, which belongs to J. B. Neumann's Mainfrankish world, the churches Dr. Lieb has selected comprise all the really significant inventions in this type of architecture in Swabia and Bavaria within the period chosen. It may be said at once that the author's success in making them points of convergence for the whole architectural activity of a time and a region is little short of astonishing.

The book is about equally divided between text and plates, and as these black-and-white photographs are perhaps the best yet published in a well-exploited field, they deserve comment in their own right. Made (with few exceptions) by Dr. Max Hirmer since the war, they avoid all artifice and sensationalism. Every picture was taken at eye level, whether from floor or balcony, and under conditions of natural daylight. The results convey with marvelous accuracy the effects of light and space that one has experienced in these churches, color excluded. (The loss of color is serious, but I have yet to see a color plate of these interiors which does not destroy the spatial continuity.) If one has yet to see these churches, and not to do so is unthinkable, no deception will accrue from having studied Dr. Hirmer's plates. The same cannot be said for the melodramatic distortion, trick angles and post-impressionist perspectives offered by many plates previously published. Behind Dr. Hirmer's brilliant photography lies the discipline of scholarship.

Dr. Norbert Lieb, director of the Städtische Kunstsammlungen in Augsburg, has provided an important and much needed synthesis in a field which has attracted many of the most accomplished German art historians since Wilhelm Pinder opened it up in 1912 with his little *Blaues Buch* (lately reissued in a revised edition), *Deutscher Barock: die grossen Baumeister des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Dr. Lieb is himself one of the leading scholars of German baroque architecture. His most recent work before this one, completing a study of the late Alois Wohlhaupter, established the careers of the brothers Dossenberger, pupils of Dominikus Zimmermann, and at the same time removed many charming

scholars date it shortly after 1630.

but lesser works (like Welden) from merely hopeful ascription to Zimmermann himself. The publications of the late Adolf Feulner, of Hugo Schnell (including a series of indispensable little brochures on individual buildings), of Hans Tintelnot on fresco painting, of Ernst Gall (who is bringing Dehio's marvelous *Handbücher* up to date) and of many younger scholars have developed an enormous amount of documentary information, much of it published since the war. A masterly reappraisal was clearly called for, and within the limits of major church design the present volume provides it.

Dr. Lieb insists, I think correctly, that German baroque achieved world stature in the history of architecture. It was no mere local phenomenon, varying what had been created elsewhere. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that German architecture from about 1715 to about 1765 was as important in the history of baroque art as German *Sondergotik* and English Perpendicular were to the history of Gothic. It was, as they were, the most creative last flowering of a style whose principles and essential forms had been developed in other lands. It is astonishing, therefore, that almost nothing has been written in English about Bavarian, Swabian, or even Franconian baroque, though it is good to learn that the new Pelican History of Art will devote a volume to it. So far we have had two beautifully written books (1928 and 1938, both out of print) by a literary nonspecialist, Sacheverell Sitwell; a few brilliant pages by Nicolaus Pevsner in his *Outline of European Architecture*; a superb but too brief article on the Balthasar Neumann Bicentennial by John Coolidge (*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XII [1953], no. 4, pp. 12-14), supplemented by a review in the March 1954 issue of *THE ART BULLETIN*; and a properly sentimental eulogy of Dominikus Zimmermann's architecture by the present writer in the late-lamented *Magazine of Art* (November 1952). I should not forget Henry Channon's concluding chapters in an old book, recently reissued (*The Ludwigs of Bavaria*, London, 1952) which is, however, essentially a work of belles-lettres on the Romantic age. As there is a very large English-reading student public to which the complexities of architectural analysis in German are not readily accessible, an important service could be performed by anyone willing and able to translate Dr. Lieb's superb account of these nineteen major churches.

The churches themselves are studied, after a wonderfully concise and complete introduction, in the following order: foundations of around 1700 (Obermarchtal, Weingarten and Fürstenfeld); space-compositions by the brothers Asam (Rohr, Weltenburg, Aldersbach, Osterhofen—where their sculptures and frescoes wholly transformed J. M. Fischer's architectural shell—and the church of St. John Nepomuk in Munich); the work of Johann Michael Fischer (Diessen, Berg am Lain, Zwiefalten, Ottobeuren, and Rott am Inn); three South Bavarian churches of the mid-century (Schäftlarn, Ettal, and Andechs); and three pilgrim-

age churches (Steinhausen, the Wies, and Birnau am Bodensee). A detailed documentation of each church follows, with bibliography, and a summary of what is known about their architects. The complex history of the furnishings and decoration of these churches is placed in a separate section to avoid confusion with their purely architectural development. Finally, a brief general bibliography is provided, together with an index of persons, places and subjects, and a table of contents.

The text is illustrated with supplementary plans and sections. The pages on Ottobeuren contain photographic plates of Fischer's façade designs and eight of the many plans submitted between 1731 and 1748 by the architects Andrea Maini, Dominikus Zimmermann, Simpert Kraemer, Joseph Effner (of Nymphenburg and Schloss Schleissheim), and finally by Fischer himself. This inclusion is especially welcome, not only because it clarifies how naturally and brilliantly Fischer's masterpiece evolved from what had already been proposed, but also because it provides an all-important link between Dominikus Zimmermann's two greatest works: Steinhausen (begun in 1727) and the Wies (begun in 1745). Zimmermann's plan for Ottobeuren is crucial because the only major intervening construction, the Frauenkirche of Günzburg, did not continue, as this plan did, Zimmermann's revolutionary introduction of a ring of columnar supports within a central-type elliptical space. The origin of this conception has been traced by Hugo Schnell to the central space of Kaspar Moosbrugger's great Swiss abbey of Einsiedeln (*Das Münster*, III, Munich, 1950, pp. 183ff.). Zimmermann's early churches at Maria Mödingen (north of the Danube near Dillingen) and at Siessen (near Saulgau) are much more traditional.

From the foregoing it may be gathered that Lieb's approach to his subject is primarily archaeological. I would not deny that this is so, but like the best archaeology it develops the basis for creative interpretation. Piranesi's volumes on Roman antiquities come to mind, with their heady alternation of scientific plates and romantic-baroque views. Lieb's procedure is a model of clarity. The church in question is carefully described and documented, at first factually, then as a work of art in terms of exterior massing, relation to site, interior planning, organization of space, lighting, color and decorative effects. As the text develops, more and more comparisons are introduced, until towards the end of the book synthesis upon synthesis of architectural developments is afforded. There is a rich allusion to political history, to local custom, to contemporary developments in theater and music, and to those deeper national strains that invoke Dürer and Altdorfer in one direction of history and Goethe and Beethoven in the other.

While the mediaeval connections of German baroque have often been stressed, their inclusion in Lieb's study is unusually varied and fascinating. The present reviewer was increasingly impressed during three visits to Steinhausen by the Gothic overtones of its exterior,

with its vertical massing, its sharp gables and its prominent single façade tower. He warmly welcomes, therefore, Lieb's tender simile: "in its outlines one senses a kind of secret Gothic, especially since it rises from the early morning mists like a vision of Strasbourg Cathedral." The vestibule and overhead choirloft of Weltenburg is compared to an early mediaeval Westwerk. Zwiefalten's plan was strongly influenced by the mediaeval church which it replaced. Egid Quirin Asam's "Gnadenstuhl," high above the altar of the church of St. John Nepomuk, stems from a Dürer woodcut. Even the color and lighting of Weltenburg is compared to "Donaustil" paintings by Altdorfer, while the slender and angular pillars of the Wies and the strange perforations along the ceiling of its choir bring memories of late Gothic shafts and pendant keystones.

These mediaeval connections were not, of course, mere coincidences of forms. Underlying them was the deeply religious atmosphere (however strong the influence from palace architecture) of Southern Germany. In the course of several digressions into connections with baroque theater, Lieb insists on this point. For it is religious drama that provides the link. If the Assumption at Rohr, the St. George *tableau-vivant* at Weltenburg (Rubens in three dimensions!) and the apse of the Nepomuk church (as originally built, not in its present state, which dates from the late eighteenth century)—if these are theater, they are "not *Schauspiel* but *theatrum sacrum*." The high altar of Diessen becomes a stage, quite literally, when the painted altarpiece is let down, and a concealed staircase provides the necessary access. Yet the altar of Ottobeuren, set on a platform seven steps above the choir (itself seven steps above the crossing), is likewise to be understood as a religious stage. (The monastic buildings of Ottobeuren also include a theater for traveling players.)

Another facet of religious transport as one senses it in German baroque is its optimism and its modernity. As one moves from the early eighteenth century, from the importation of Italian or Italianate architects, from the Roman ponderousness of the Asams' interiors into the clearer lighting, the blonder colors, the freer movement of mid-century work, one feels swept forward by the sheer exuberance of regional enterprise. One recalls the history of Gothic communes and cathedrals, and Abbot Suger's certainty that his building was "right." Lieb emphasizes how often the word *neu* appears in the documents of German baroque. A lesser Suger, Abbot Rupert Ness of Ottobeuren, wrote in his journal: "[Ich] habe pro moderno stylo et aevo getracht, allmögliches zu observieren ex gratia Dei, wie es dann die Approbation von dieser Welt hat."

Throughout this book there appears a deep strain of that love of nature which we associate with major developments in the history of German art. Lieb shows that the architects were profoundly affected by it and he himself is full of it (the Steinhausen-Strasbourg comparison is only one example). Nearly a year of travel and study *zwischen Donau und Alpen* (after reading this book it seems so little time!) documented

for me what German art historians are constantly emphasizing (Wölfflin did it most eloquently a generation ago in *Italien und das deutsche Formgefühl*): German architecture is inspired by nature to a greater degree than most other architectures. Nowhere is this better illustrated than during the apparently formalistic eighteenth century, with its major sources of influence lying in Rome, Paris and Vienna. Birnau, set like a jewel on the shores of the Bodensee, was to have had a kind of Spanish Stairs to link it more intensively with the natural slope. Die Wies rises quietly and easily from a setting of farm buildings; in fact, it may be thought of as the apotheosis of the chapel-in-the-field (fifteen of these are visible from one spot not many miles east of Munich). When *rocaille* ornament grows most fantastic, one learns not to be surprised to find a wealth of motifs taken directly from nature. Butterflies, beetles, birds, and foxes appear at Steinhausen, for example, and Lieb adds that this same period saw the introduction of organ stops named Waldflöte, Rohrflöte, and Kukuck. I cling to a theory that the design of candelabras and related forms, notably in the Amalienburg, derives from that centuries-old German passion for decorating corridors and rooms with antlers brought home from the hunt.

As applied to German architecture from the 1680's to the 1760's the term baroque is only loosely satisfactory. Lieb makes this abundantly clear in his many excursions into rococo (and *régence*) connections. In church architecture, of course, rococo made less fundamental inroads than in residential building. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the interior lighting of Fischer's and Zimmermann's churches, not to mention Neumann's *Vierzehnheiligen*, is strikingly rococo in character, and that it differs profoundly from those darker, more spotlighted and cavernous Roman-baroque effects in the works of the Roman-trained Asams. As the ornament and color which accompany this new "blond" lighting depart increasingly from baroque procedures, the term baroque becomes correspondingly inappropriate. It would be equally unsatisfactory, however, to call these churches rococo. I offer, therefore, a new term for German architecture of the eighteenth century: *barococo*. Clumsy as it may be, it has some advantage in accuracy.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.
Williams College

A. P. OPPÉ, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens*, with a reprint of Alexander Cozens' *A New Method of Assisting the Invention in Drawing Original Compositions of Landscape*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 196; 69 ills. \$6.00.

In reconstructing the lives and working methods of Alexander and John Robert Cozens, who rank among the most sensitive and original artists of their period, A. P. Oppé has drawn upon his profound experience with eighteenth century British drawings and watercolors. The task of distinguishing their artistic charac-

ter, and in particular that of Alexander Cozens, from the rumor and legend which had often been accepted unquestioningly, was a demanding one and it has engaged the author's attention for the better part of his lifetime. When Mr. Oppé began his research, there was little enough known about either of the Cozens and much of the information that did concern them was fragmentary or unreliable. While they were alive, their names lacked the fashionable appeal of Reynolds' or Gainsborough's and, on the whole, their work attracted the attention of a comparatively small circle. Within a few years after their death they were virtually unknown. However, some fifty years ago an effort to find the Cozens' proper place in the history of British eighteenth century art was begun by a small group of scholars and collectors, among whom the author has long occupied a most important position. Mr. Oppé's authoritative research, of which parts have occasionally appeared in print, is summed up in the present volume. In securing general recognition of the quality of their individual talents, Mr. Oppé's contribution must be recognized as of decisive importance.

For one who is acquainted with the author's methods from his previous publications in this field, his meticulous concern for scholarship will be immediately apparent; his observations are consistently supported by documented fact, or, at the very least, sustained by closely reasoned and persuasive argument. The book is, of course, intended to assemble all of the essential data for a more comprehensive understanding of the lives and work of both Alexander and John Robert Cozens than has previously been possible, and this has been so skillfully accomplished that, although there are only a hundred and sixty-two pages of text, both men are presented at full length. To the senior Cozens, the author allots the larger share, but this is justifiable if one considers how generally John Robert Cozens' reputation has tended to exceed his father's. Moreover, John Robert Cozens' work has already had the advantage of extensive publication and illustration through the efforts of C. F. Bell and T. Girtin, in Volume 23 of the Walpole Society. In the matter of illustrations, Mr. Oppé makes a more equitable division, with twenty-eight drawings by Alexander Cozens being reproduced against twenty by his son, not counting the frontispiece, which is also his. In addition, sixteen "blots" by Alexander Cozens are reproduced, of which twelve are included in the text of *A New Method*, here reprinted in full. The illustrations are arranged as nearly as possible in accordance with the passages of text discussing the artist's work, which makes it easy to follow Mr. Oppé when he is talking about chronology and style. For the most part, the works chosen for illustration have not been reproduced previously and this in itself makes the volume one of exceptional interest for students of eighteenth century British art.

The reader will find the first three chapters devoted to Alexander Cozens' life, first in Russia, where he was born of English parents, then during a brief period in Rome and, finally, in London, the chief center of his

activities as an artist and drawing master. Mr. Oppé begins by correcting, through research into the details of his family background, several misconceptions regarding the artist's origin. He pokes holes in the familiar story that Cozens was an offspring of Peter the Great, who is presumed to have enticed the artist's mother into returning with him to Russia after his visit to England at the end of the seventeenth century. There is also speculation on the manner in which Cozens' early curiosity about the art of drawing might have been stimulated: through European engravings brought to Russia by Dutch traders, or through the drawings made by marine draughtsmen (a not unlikely source since activity of that nature would have had links with his family's means of livelihood) and perhaps, in some way, through contact with Chinese painting. Considering certain aspects of Alexander Cozens' work, the latter possibility will not seem entirely remote.

Cozens' earliest experience in his own land has generally been thought to have taken place in 1746, when he arrived in London after a period of study and work in Rome. But now more information is available and there seems little doubt that he was in England some three years prior to 1746. The author then states that Cozens returned to Russia before setting out, as is known, for Leghorn, probably early in 1746. His Roman contacts are given in some detail and there is a revealing analysis of a sketchbook in which he recorded, presumably for the first time, notes and drawings for composing from nature. As Cozens is the inventor *par excellence* of "systems," it is interesting to see early indications of the groundwork being laid for the formalized publications upon which at least a part of his reputation came to rest some years later. His first publication along these lines did not actually appear, however, until 1771.

Cozens' stay in Rome was of insufficient length to permit him to achieve a recognizable style and perhaps something of a reputation which might have preceded him to London. When he arrived in London, he was unknown and his first years in his own country are therefore somewhat difficult to follow. But the author succeeds in tracing him through a number of connections, among them his marriage to a daughter of Robert Edge Pine, the appearance of his work in exhibitions, and his services as a drawing master. He is thus enabled to form an opinion of the earlier phase of Cozens' life in England, which, altogether, was to span some forty years. Of special interest in this chapter is the gradual articulation of Cozens' "systems," and here the author has much to say. Interwoven with Cozens' absorbing interest in these systems are many fascinating passages concerning his associations with William Beckford, who so obviously found in him someone he could admire. While Cozens remains a rather shadowy personality throughout much of this book, he is momentarily given life in a few lines written by Beckford. On one occasion, when Cozens was at Fonthill, where he passed considerable time, Beckford describes him with a certain wry humor in a letter as "creeping about like

a domestic animal. . . ." And much later he wrote, "I seemed to hear him commanding the oriental scenery of my apartments, and lulling whisper of the winds. I seemed to behold him stretched at my feet, examining the sprigs of citron I had gathered and saying with a smile 'Shall I give them to Lady Margaret?'" These vivid strokes tell us much about the kind of man Cozens must have been.

In the fourth chapter, the "systems" are for the first time treated in an orderly manner. The author begins with a discussion of *The Shape, Skeleton and Foliage of 32 Species of Trees*, of 1771, then *The Principles of Beauty relative to the Human Head*, of 1778. Mr. Oppé discusses *A New Method*, of 1786, which contains Cozens' most interesting observations, at greater length than the others, and he concludes with the last publication, of which no copy is known to exist, *Various Species of Composition of Landscape*. The method he employs is the most direct one, that of describing the work in detail, tracing its evolution and commenting upon its importance. The material has been thoroughly covered through this methodical approach and the results should be helpful both in introducing Cozens' publications to a wider audience and in correcting once and for all any misunderstanding of his use of "blots" that may have been perpetuated by the critical reaction to his methods which arose while he was still alive. The author takes pains to show that as Cozens described the process of "blotting" in *A New Method*, its use could not have prompted nor encouraged the sort of trickery that certain contemporaries saw in these unorthodox methods, but rather that with their aid the student would be able to free himself from composing in a rigidly prescribed manner.

Mr. Oppé is as meticulous in his discussions of Cozens' paintings and drawings as he is in describing the "systems." Again he organizes his material chronologically. However, this is a chapter not to be so much read as studied, and then preferably with the help of reproductions of the work under discussion. Mr. Oppé frequently crowds much into a few sentences, with the result that his style can be difficult to follow. There are numerous instances in which his sentences run on through six, seven, and even nine lines. If the reader does not take time to consider the author's remarks in relation to the appropriate work, he is soon lost.

John Robert Cozens' life and work are examined in chapters six and seven. For his early years there is virtually no information and it is not until 1776, when the artist was twenty-four, that he emerges for the

first time. It was then that he went abroad, to Switzerland and Italy, in the company of Richard Payne Knight, who was himself only two years older than Cozens. He returned to England after an absence of three years. In 1782 he began a second journey to Italy, this time with his father's old friend, William Beckford, who included him in his retinue. Through references in correspondence and from information on the drawings made during these two journeys, the author is able to follow Cozens' movements. With the exception of these two periods away from England, much of the artist's life remains in shadow. These few facts about Cozens were included in Bell and Girtin's account, but Oppé has widened our understanding of the man by putting him into relation with his father and his few friends, and especially by giving an account of his life after 1783, when his mental and physical condition deteriorated. Mr. Oppé also follows the life of his widow and of his daughter, which Bell and Girtin did not attempt to do. Cozens' work is discussed in the succeeding chapter with the same meticulous care that marks this book from its beginning.

Mr. Oppé concludes his distinguished account by reviewing the question of the influence of the two Cozens; in Alexander's case it was in all probability modest for the more professional artist but perhaps far-reaching upon the amateur and then with interesting implications. It must be kept in mind that Cozens was a drawing master and introduced many a student to his materials. Constable, who may have indirectly found something of interest in Alexander Cozens' work, doubtless had a closer contact with John Robert Cozens. He admired his work greatly and the link between them is stronger than with the senior Cozens. For an understanding of the development of English landscape painting it is important to begin with the Cozens and their contemporaries. They form an indispensable background for such men as Constable, Girtin, and Turner.

CHARLES E. BUCKLEY
Wadsworth Athenaeum

ADDENDUM: The review of H. W. Janson's book, *Apes and Ape Lore, in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, in the June issue, was arranged for by the former Editor for Book Reviews, Phyllis Williams Lehmann, and the present Editor for Book Reviews, H. W. Janson, did not see the review before it appeared in print. This information was inadvertently omitted from the June issue.

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- Paintings from the Ajanta Caves*, with a preface by Jawaharlal Nehru and an Introduction by Madanjeet Singh, New York Graphic Society (UNESCO World Art Series), 1954. Pp. 10; 5 figs.; 32 color pls. \$15.00.
- Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Het Eerste Manierisme in Italie 1500-1540* (exhibition catalogue), 1954. Pp. 93; 17 figs. 2 guilders.
- Annual of the British School at Athens*, XLVIII, London, 1953. Pp. 367; 40 figs.; 70 pls. £3 3s.
- ARNHEIM, RUDOLF, *Art and Visual Perception, a Psychology of the Creative Eye*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954. Pp. 418; 275 figs.; 3 pls. \$10.00.
- AUERBACH, ERNA, *Tudor Artists*, New York, John de Graff, 1954. Pp. 236; 53 pls. \$12.50.
- BESELER, HARTWIG, and HANS ROGGENKAMP, *Die Michaeliskirche in Hildesheim*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann, 1954. Pp. 181; 162 ills.; 7 pls. DM 50.00.
- BOLEN, FRANCIS, *Films on Art, Panorama 1953*, New York, Columbia University Press (for UNESCO), 1953. Pp. 80; 7 pls. \$0.75.
- Budapest, Országos Szépművészeti Múzeum, Lucas Cranach Emlékiállítás*, 1953. Pp. 23; 8 figs.
- Budapest, Országos Szépművészeti Múzeum, Daumier és Kortársai* (A grafikai osztály, LXXXVI kiállítása), 1953. Pp. 27.
- CARBONERI, NINO, *L'architetto Francesco Gallo*, Turin, Società Piemontese di archeologia e di belle arti (Atti, nuova serie, II), 1954. Pp. 228; 21 figs.; 98 pls.
- Columbia, S. C., Museum of Art, Art of the Italian Renaissance from the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (exhibition catalogue), 1954. Pp. 63; 28 pls.
- Copenhagen, Kunstindustrimuseet, C. L. David's Samling, anden Del*, 1953. Pp. 235; ills.
- DAVIDSON, J. LEROY, *The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. 105; 40 pls. \$5.00.
- Education and Art, a Symposium*, edited by Edwin Ziegfeld, New York, Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. 129; 58 pls. \$5.50.
- GÉO-CHARLES, *Art Baroque en Amérique Latine*, Paris, Plon, 1954. Pp. 32; 66 figs. 600 French francs.
- GUNNIS, RUPERT, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 514. \$12.50.
- GUTH-DREYFUS, KATIA, *Transluzides Email in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts am Ober-, Mittel- und Niederrhein* (Basler Studien z. Kunstgeschichte, IX), Stuttgart, Birkhauser, 1954. Pp. 132; 16 pls. 9.35 Swiss francs.
- HAMILTON, GEORGE HEARD, *Manet and His Critics*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. 295; 39 ills. \$5.00.
- HOOPES, THOMAS T., *Armor and Arms, an Elementary Handbook and Guide to the Collection in the City Art Museum, St. Louis*, 1954. Pp. 55; 51 figs. \$0.85.
- INAMDAR, P. A., *Some Archeological Finds in the Idar State*, Baroda, 1936. Pp. 78; 28 pls.
- KRAUTHEIMER, RICHARD, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianum Romae (Le basiliche Cristiane antiche di Roma, sec. IV-IX)*, I, fascicle iv, Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1954. Pp. 106; 37 figs.; 10 pls. \$14.00.
- LAMB, LYNTON, *Preparation for Painting, the Purpose and Materials for the Artist*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. 166; ills. \$4.25.
- Lebanon—Suggestions for the Plan of Tripoli and for the Surroundings of the Baalbek Acropolis*, New York, Columbia University Press (UNESCO, Museums and Monuments, VI), 1954. Pp. 29; 52 figs. \$2.25.
- L'art et la pensée de Léonard de Vinci, Communications du Congrès International du Val de Loire, 7-12 Juillet 1952* (Études d'art, 8, 9, 10), Algiers, Musée National des Beaux-Arts d'Alger, 1953-1954. Pp. 432; 46 figs.
- Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Boletim*, II, 3, 1952. Pp. 63; ills.
- Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Roteiro das Pinturas*, 1951. Pp. 129; ills.
- Los Angeles County Museum, Catalogue of Italian, French and Spanish Paintings, XIV-XVIII Century*, 1954. Pp. 79; 79 pls.
- LOUIS, RENÉ, *Autessiodurum Christianum; Les églises d'Auxerre des origines au XIe siècle*, Paris, Clavreuil, 1952. Pp. 128; 74 figs.
- MAJ, BIANCA MARIA FELLETTI, *Museo Nazionale Romano: I Ritratti* (Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d'Italia), Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1953. Pp. 171; 329 figs. 5000 lire.
- MARLIER, GEORGES, *Erasmus et la peinture flamande de son temps*, Brussels, Editions du Musée Van Maerlant-Damme, 1954. Pp. 345; 57 figs. 300 Belgian francs.
- Marsyas*, VI, New York University Press, 1954. Pp. 86; 90 figs. \$5.00.
- MATEJKI, JANA, *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem*, Warsaw, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1953. Pp. 21; 65 ills.
- NORDSTROM, CARL OTTO, *Ravennastudien* ("Figura," Studies edited by the Institute of Art History, University of Uppsala, 4), Stockholm, Hugo Gebers, 1953. Pp. 151; 32 pls. 46 Swedish crowns.
- OERTEL, ROBERT, *Die Frühzeit der Italienischen Malerei* (Urban-Bücher, 6), Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1953. Pp. 247; 56 figs. DM 4.80.
- PARIBENI, ENRICO, *Museo Nazionale Romano: Sculture Greche del V secolo, originali e repliche* (Cataloghi dei Musei e Gallerie d'Italia), Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1953. Pp. 79; 125 figs. 2500 lire.

- SACY, JACQUES SILVESTRE DE, *Le Comte d'Angiviller, dernier Directeur Général des Batiments du Roi*, Paris, Plon, 1954. Pp. 274; ills.
- SIEBENHÜNER, HERBERT, *Das Kapitol in Rom*, Munich, Kösel-Verlag, 1954. Pp. 148; 74 ills. DM 22.50.
- Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, edited by Dorothy Miner, Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. 502; 366 pls. \$25.00.
- Syria—Problems of Preservation and Presentation of the Sites and Monuments*, New York, Columbia University Press (UNESCO, Museums and Monuments, VII), 1954. Pp. 35; 64 figs. \$2.25.
- Wien, *Museum Mittelalterlicher Österreichischer Kunst in der Orangerie des Belvedere, Katalog*, Vienna, Schroll, 1953. Pp. 31; 32 figs.
- WILDENSTEIN, GEORGES, *The Paintings of Ingres*, New York, Garden City Books (Phaidon), 1954. Pp. 246; 201 figs.; 120 pls. \$12.50.
- ZEITLER, RUDOLF, *Klassizismus und Utopia; Interpretationen zu den Werken von David, Canova, Carstens, Thorvaldsen, Koch* ("Figura," Studies edited by the Institute of Art History, University of Uppsala, 5), Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell, 1954. Pp. 301; 48 pls. 28 Swedish crowns.

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

HONORARY DIRECTORS

MYRTILLA AVERY
Wellesley College

WALTER W. S. COOK
New York University

CHARLES R. MOREY
Princeton University

DAVID M. ROBINSON
University of Mississippi

PAUL J. SACHS
Harvard University

OFFICERS

President

LAMAR DODD
University of Georgia

Secretary

JOSEPH C. SLOANE
Bryn Mawr College

Vice-President

MILLARD MEISS
Harvard University

Treasurer

JOHN W. STRAUS
Macy's, New York

DIRECTORS

To Serve Until 1955

JOHN P. COOLIDGE
Fogg Museum of Art

WALTER L. CREESE
University of Louisville

MARIAN B. DAVIS
University of Texas

JOSEPH C. SLOANE
Bryn Mawr College

ANDREW C. RITCHIE
Museum of Modern Art

To Serve Until 1956

H. HARVARD ARNASON
University of Minnesota

FRANKLIN M. BIEBEL
Frick Collection

S. LANE FAISON, JR.
Williams College

ALDEN F. MEGREW
University of Colorado

MILLARD L. MEISS
Harvard University

To Serve Until 1957

CRAIG HUGH SMYTH
New York University

ALLEN S. WELLER
University of Illinois

LAMAR DODD
University of Georgia

GIBSON DANES
University of California, Los Angeles

WILLIAM S. A. DALE
National Gallery of Canada

To Serve Until 1958

GEORGE H. FORSYTH, JR.
University of Michigan

STEFAN HIRSCH
Bard College

THOMAS C. HOWE, JR.
*California Palace of the Legion of
Honor, San Francisco*

A. HYATT MAYOR
Metropolitan Museum of Art

JOHN W. STRAUS
Macy's, New York